No, Thanks, Keep Your Gold Stars . . . *by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn*

NEW MASSES

FIFTEEN CENTS

May 28, 1940

INVASION!

FDR's Gigantic Hoax

A dark question is haunting the minds of many people. What if Hitler wins? Won't America be next? . . . They are trying to stampede the people into jittery helplessness. . . . The President knows the facts; he has deliberately chosen to pervert them. For what purpose?

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Between Ourselves

No Summer Soldiers This Summer

WE ARE $8,381 short of our $25,000 goal to see us through the year. To date we have received $16,619.

Last week we received only $132 through the mail. And we are entering the hard summer months, the hardest months of the year in normal times. This year they will be harder, hotter than ever, with the war at our doors. This year we have the biggest job in our history—to reflect the overwhelming desire of the American people to stay out of war.

NEW MASSES wishes to close this drive at the earliest possible date. We have given you all the facts; you know the great task.

Roosevelt last week asked for a billion dollar war chest.

We are asking for a $25,000 peace chest.

If every reader of NEW MASSES sent in that one dollar, our drive would be finished—we would enter the summer months with confidence that our peace message will not be hindered by financial crises.

We mean to stay on the job and nothing will halt us.

Do you think that is worth your digging down for one dollar—a dollar for peace?

This is the season, this year of 1940, when the summer soldiers must be combated. You will not find them in this magazine.

You must help NEW MASSES come out this summer. Your dollar will ensure that. Put it in the mail tonight before you forget.

(Please turn to page 26)

NM WILL be the sole recipient of all funds for the performance of Norman Rosten's poetic drama, *This Proud Pilgrimage*. This special preview, presented by the Flatbush Arts Theater players, will be given at the Heckscher Theater, 1 East 104th St., N. Y. C., Wednesday evening, June 5. Tickets are priced at 55 cents, 83 cents, and $1.10. They are available at the NM office, 461 Fourth Ave. For additional information call Jean Stanley at CAledonia 5-3076.

Reminder to readers: Because of Decoration Day, NM will be on the newsstands next week a day earlier than usual—Wednesday instead of Thursday.

In response to dozens of requests from teachers, doctors, lawyers—intellectuals in different professions—we are delighted to announce that NM is preparing a rousing meeting for its readers. On June 12 Earl Browder and James W. Ford will speak under NM's auspices on "The War Crisis and the Middle Class." The place of the meeting is Manhattan Center, 34th Street and Eighth Avenue, N. Y. C. Tickets for the reserved section are 75 cents, general admission 40 cents. Tickets can be obtained at NM's office, the Workers Bookshop, 50 East 13th St.; and the 44th Street Bookfair, 133 West 44th St.

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This Week

NEW MASSES, VOL. XXXV, NO. 10

May 28, 1940

Invasion: FDR's Gigantic Hoax *An Editorial* 3
The Senate Committee Contradicts FDR *Extracts from the report of the Senate Naval Affairs Committee* . . 5
Communiques Don't Tell Enough *by Joseph Starobin* . 6
Gropper's Cartoon 7
No, Thanks, Keep Your Gold Stars *by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn* 8
America Has Her Peons, Too *by Herbert Aptheker* . . 9
A Letter from One Who Escaped 11
The Empire's Real War Aims *by Corliss Lamont* . . . 12
India: 360,000,000 in Motion *by Marion Greenspan* . . 13
If Lincoln Looked at Illinois Today *by Carl Harris* . . 15
Tonight Is Part of the Struggle *by Meridel LeSueur* . . 17
Editorial Comment 19
Readers' Forum 22

REVIEW AND COMMENT

The "Dialectics of Nature" *by J. B. S. Haldane* . . . 23
Nazi Middletown *by Lillian Grey* 26
Romance in the Slave Era *by Ralph Ellison* 27
New York Panorama *by Barbara Giles* 28

SIGHTS AND SOUNDS

"The Actors Present War" *by Alvah Bessie* 29
"The Baker's Wife" *by James Dugan* 30
Art Work by Clinton, D. Lewis, Aime, Mischa Richter,

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NEW MASSES

VOLUME XXXV MAY 28, 1940 NUMBER 10

Invasion: FDR's Gigantic Hoax

Is America in danger of attack? The President conjured up pictures of the bombing of St. Louis, Kansas City, Omaha. Why? An editorial article.

I hope the people of this country will also discriminate most carefully between news and rumor. Do not believe of necessity everything you hear or read. Check up on it first. . . . It is of the utmost importance that the people of this country, with the best information in the world, think things through.—*Franklin D. Roosevelt, radio address, Sept. 3, 1939.*

A DARK question is haunting the minds of many people. What if Hitler wins? Won't America be next? Out of that question rises a darker vision: our tranquil skies suddenly black with planes pouring death, carnivorous tanks moving inexorably against America's flesh and blood, our green earth turned into a battlefield.

Newspapers paint that picture in great black headline strokes. President Roosevelt paints it with black, ominous words. On every side clamor: America must arm, America must prepare, America must sacrifice everything to defend itself from attack. Twelve million unemployed—they must wait. Workers paid starvation wages—they must wait. Farmers losing markets, losing homes—they must wait. Guns for America, planes for America, battleships for America—food, shelter, clothing must wait.

Is this picture true? What is the answer to the dark question troubling many people? On that answer depends the welfare of every American, depends America's peace and democracy. Let us find it. But first let us stop acting like frightened chickens. The press and radio shriek panic. The entire nation is being emotionally bombed, psychologically driven into air raid shelters. They are trying to stampede the people into jittery helplessness. Panic is a powerful gun—and it's in the enemy's hands. Fatalism is another big enemy gun—the shoulder-shrugging, we'll-be-in-it-before-long attitude. Silence those two guns, mobilize the army of peace—the 95 percent of Americans who don't want to be involved in war—and the fight for peace can be won.

Is America in danger of attack?—In his speech to the Pan-American Scientific Congress on May 10 and in his special message to Congress May 16 President Roosevelt addressed himself to the fears of the average American and to his lack of knowledge. The average person has shuddered at photos taken after air raids showing ruined homes and mutilated bodies; but he knows little about bombing planes and the technique of warfare. The President conjured up pictures of the bombing of Florida, St. Louis, Kansas City, Omaha. He spoke of the Azores as "only two thousand miles from parts of our eastern seaboard," of the Cape Verde Islands off the west coast of Africa as "only 1,500 miles from Brazil." But he did not tell the American people that *the flying range of bombers is only five hundred to seven hundred and fifty miles (including the trip back to their bases),* which means that the United States could not possibly be bombed from the Azores, or Brazil from Africa. Nor did he tell the American people that for the United States to be attacked air and naval bases must be established on or near the American continent and invading forces landed under fire.

But most important of all, the President did not tell the American people that just one day before he spoke, the Senate Naval Affairs Committee issued a report which declared that an invasion of the United States was militarily impossible so long as the United States retains control, as it does today, of the sea communications to this continent. This report has been played down by the press. Its facts do not jibe with the huge war program of big business and the Roosevelt administration. But these facts are essential for the real defense of American liberties. They are by no means new; they have been confirmed by Maj. George Fielding Eliot in his book, *The Ramparts We Watch,* and by every authority worth his salt. Turn to page 5 and read what the Senate Naval Affairs Committee, after hearing testimony by high naval officials and military experts, has to say about the dangers which Roosevelt envisaged.

The fact is that President Roosevelt's attempt to create the fear of an invasion of the United States is a *gigantic hoax on the American people.* It is a heartless exploitation of the feelings of millions of mothers and fathers, millions of America's youth. The President knows the facts; he has deliberately chosen to pervert them. For what purpose? "The President's speech [to Congress] was tragically reminiscent of 1917," said Rep. Vito Marcantonio. "He has performed a blitzkrieg on the peace of the American people."

The road to war.—We are being led down the slippery road to war. The same day that Germany invaded Holland, Belgium, and Luxembourg England invaded Iceland. The fact that Iceland did not resist because it has neither army nor navy does not mitigate the crime; force was used and the independence of a small country violated. The next day British and French troops landed in the Dutch West Indies off the coast of Venezuela and took possession of the islands. Again the native population, which had been under the thumb of Dutch imperialism, was not asked. But there were no outcries in Washington. On the contrary, the State Department twisted the Monroe Doctrine to fit the occasion, announcing that Allied occupation of the Dutch West Indies constituted no violation of historic American policy. Antwerp, which the German army has captured, is 3,812 miles from New York. Curacao, one of the islands of the Dutch West Indies, which the Allies seized, is only 699 miles from the Panama Canal. Yet all the fiery forensics are directed at Germany alone, whose operations, horrible and detestable as they are, do not and cannot threaten America. Is this a policy of peace or war?

The New York *Herald Tribune* gave the tipoff. On the very day that President Roosevelt demanded more than one billion dollars in war funds over and beyond the two billions already appropriated, this house organ of America's ruling families stated in its leading editorial: ". . . it is quite probable that the least costly solution, in both life and welfare, would be to declare war on Germany at once."

Must we wait twenty years?—The *Herald Tribune* gave the tipoff. But the administration is not nearly so frank; it knows how great is the people's opposition to war. "The President not even yet is saying openly what he has said to individuals and committees of Congress," wrote Arthur Krock in the New York *Times* of May 15. What is the President saying privately, what secret machinations is he hiding from the people? Is he saying the sort of things that Woodrow Wilson was saying privately in 1914, 1915, 1916? The late William E. Dodd, former ambassador to Germany, wrote in the *Times* of July 1, 1936: "In the White House in August 1915 Wilson said to me . . . it begins to look as if a single European power would dominate the whole of Europe; if that happens, we are bound to intervene." Must we wait another twenty years to learn the truth? Must we wait for another Nye committee, long after the bodies of American boys have fed the worms on European battlefields, to tell the story of how the bankers and munitions makers connived with the President and the State Department, how the press and radio lied, how the American people were deceived, betrayed, dragooned into a war for profit and plunder?

The road to fascism.—A blitzkrieg is being prepared not only against peace, but against American living standards and American

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democracy. Gone are the days when FDR welcomed the hatred of Wall Street. Gone are the days when he pointed proudly to the fact that the munitions kings were not on his side. Wedding bells are ringing to signalize the remarriage of Roosevelt and big business. The Republicans are acting as flower boys, with Hoover, Landon, Dewey, Taft, and Willkie bearing bouquets of praise for the President's message to Congress. Dorothy Thompson, maid of honor, who is led down the aisle by Secretary of the Interior Ickes, bestows a third-term kiss on the unblushing bride and tells the Republicans not to be killjoys by nominating a candidate in opposition to Roosevelt. On the fringes of the fat and festive crowd, trying their best to look happy and hoping to get a piece of wedding cake, are the poor relations—the AFL Executive Council, the leaders of the Social-Democratic Federation, the *Nation* and *New Republic* editors.

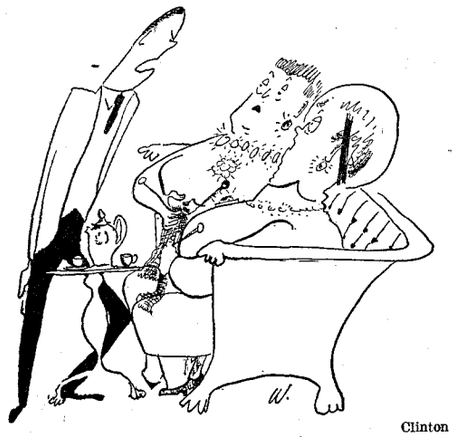
It is a sumptuous wedding feast and the groom will do the carving. Consider these tasty morsels: "House leaders organized a drive for modification of the Walsh-Healey act to permit the President to waive forty-hour week limitations governing shipbuilding" (*Times,* May 18); "A relaxing of the Wages-Hours act to facilitate the execution of the national defense program was under discussion by administration officials today" (*Times,* May 19). "Take the handcuffs off our intensive production!" bawls the *Sun*. The *Times* (May 19) presents a streamlined program:

> We have got to recognize, in the first place, that our expenditures for defense will constitute in themselves all that we can afford of that "compensatory" government spending which some New Dealers have thought so necessary to supplement private spending and to provide jobs.... We must suspend all public works, all roads and public buildings not absolutely essential in themselves. We must scrap the WPA in its present form. . . .
>
> We must drastically cut down the scandalously overgenerous subsidies. . . . When it is realized that the wholly unjustified $224,000,000 additional that Congress voted to throw in the direction of special groups of farmers last week might have bought more than two thousand bombers or more than eight thousand pursuit planes, this becomes a grave matter. And this $224,000,000 is merely one example of a score of such wastes.

Think of it: American farmers—the traitors!—want food instead of planes, clothes instead of bombs, life instead of death. Wall Street is outraged. Guns not butter, demands the *Times*—and General Goering. Produce more, consume less, decrees Reynaud—and the American brokers of death.

But when capitalism prepares for war, sacrifice is a sword that cuts only one way. Writes Ralph Hendershot, financial editor of the New York *World-Telegram* (May 17):

> Under the circumstances it would be rather ridiculous to assume that a profitless preparedness policy could be put into effect. Industry will not jump at the chance to make either airplanes or other war materials the government may decide it should have. In fact, it may insist upon extra heavy profits to offset the risk it would be obliged to assume in converting its plants from peace- to wartime products.



Clinton

"Mother, STOP calling me your Bundle for Britain!"

And when capitalism prepares for war the first casualties are those liberties it professes to be defending. Read what the Senate Naval Affairs Committee has to say on the subject of the M-Day plans. The administration is not waiting for M-Day. For months it has been waging guerrilla warfare against the trade unions and the most determined peace forces, those on the left. Though 88 percent of the American people, according to a *Fortune* survey, want no part of war no matter what happens abroad, the administration believes that if their leadership can be jailed, crippled, harassed, they can be tricked and coerced into war. Roosevelt's latest saber-rattling speeches have been the signal for new aggressions against the Bill of Rights. Martin Dies, prize product of America's Trojan stables, is making new threats. Governor E. D. Rivers of Georgia has begun a drive to deport from that state all "fifth-columnists"—"Nazis, fascists, Silver Shirts, Communists, or what"—the "what" not including the Ku Klux Klan, with which Governor Rivers is decidedly friendly. The House Immigration Committee has reported favorably a bill to deport Harry Bridges; other anti-alien bills are being pushed. But the Naval Affairs Committee report has posed the question: "Why should we go to war to defend freedom if we must begin by destroying it with our own hands?"

America's best defense is peace.—The question of war or peace for America is not primarily a question of arms, but of policy. The European war began not because Hitler attacked Poland, but because Hitler *and* Chamberlain *and* Daladier attacked peace. The deadliest guns were not in the field, but in the chancelleries. Peace was slaughtered in Austria, in Czechoslovakia, in Spain—and the United States helped. Just as she is today helping Japan destroy peace in the Far East. Not Germany alone, but imperialism everywhere is the aggressor, the enemy of human freedom. This is the great truth that we Americans must learn if we are not to forfeit our peace and liberties. Germany seeks to dominate western Europe, that is, to break the domination of Britain. But who is the American government to cast the first stone, the government which together with England dominates Latin America and Canada? Who is Roosevelt to talk of Hitler's dreams of empire—Roosevelt, whose hand has reached out 6,525 miles across the Pacific Ocean to the Dutch East Indies? Just what liberty of the American *people* is the Roosevelt administration proposing to defend in the East Indies?

The main threat to American peace and democracy comes not from Berlin, but from Washington—and Wall Street. This is another great truth that we Americans must grasp on peril of our very lives. During the months before the European conflict blazed into large scale warfare President Roosevelt did not lift a finger to promote peace. On the contrary, he turned a deaf ear to the peace proposals that came from the Soviet Union, Germany, and Holland. And he whipped up war sentiment, first against the USSR and now against Germany. The Roosevelt administration has spent from eight to ten billion dollars on so-called defense and now proposes to spend billions more. *But the best defense for America is peace.* And that defense can be bought for about $20—the price of a transatlantic telephone call to the Kremlin. It is almost as simple as that. The Soviet Union is the only large power that has no interest in the continuation of the imperialist war. If America joined with the USSR, a tremendous weight would be thrown against the warmakers and America's own peace would be assured.

Consider this curious fact: though it is next door to one of the belligerents, the Soviet Union is actually in less danger of involvement in the war than is the United States, thousands of miles away. A paradox? The relations of capitalism and socialism abound in such seeming paradoxes. Socialism means peace; where the rule of the capitalists has been supplanted by the rule of the people, there is no one who can profit from war. Capitalism, on the contrary, dying and wracked by a thousand ills, sooner or later turns to the desperate surgery of war. But neither German nor Anglo-French imperialism need win the war. The people can defeat both and win the peace.

It is late, but not too late. America's headlong course toward war can be halted. The full strength of the people must be thrown into the breach. The Roosevelt message to Congress is already being answered by trade unions, students, church groups, and many other organizations who are firmly saying that America must stay out. The "Yanks Are Not Coming" movement is a flame that is spreading as the blackout looms. The trap is not yet sprung—America's mothers and sons can still be warned. A third party to oppose the Democratic-Republican war party, a third party to lead the plain people in a blitzkrieg for peace—this is the road for those who want to live for democracy, not die for fascism. We have said: this is not our war. Let us say: *this is and must remain our peace.*

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The Senate Committee Contradicts FDR

On May 15, one day before President Roosevelt delivered his special message to Congress, the Senate Naval Affairs Committee issued a report which effectively spikes the lurid Roosevelt propaganda about the danger of an attack on the United States.

The report as a whole ignores the basic question of a peace policy for the United States and confines itself to military problems. It joins in the reactionary demand for bigger naval funds and discusses the question of war or peace from the standpoint of the maintenance of the dominant position of American imperialism rather than the interests of the majority of the people. Nevertheless, its admissions are highly significant. Extracts follow.

FROM the military point of view the United States must be considered as an insular nation. We are separated from potential enemies on the east and west by broad and deep oceans. On our northern and southern borders are nations which have been friendly heretofore. Across these land frontiers could come no armies of sufficient strength to menace our security. Our situation is not similar to that of the British at the present time. Prior to the advent of air power the British Isles were insular countries. This complete insularity is now compromised in the military sense in that they are subject to damaging attack by aircraft based on the Continent.

The armies of Europe and Asia do not menace us. To be a menace they must be transported across the sea in ships. Airplanes based on the continents of Europe and Asia do not menace us. To threaten seriously our continental security they must be conveyed across the sea and operated from bases in or near this hemisphere. . . .

Due to the limited range of aircraft, our self-sufficiency in food, and our geographical location, the United States is not confronted with a similar situation [to Britain's]. Our home ports and shipping centers are not only farther from tenable air bases but they cover a wider area and are available in two oceans. . . .

We are not prepared to participate in the European war, as we do not possess the necessary weapons to make our efforts effective. We should not consider our naval needs with this objective in view. . . . Can anyone see how we could possibly accomplish anything worth the sacrifices of human lives, of resources, and possible loss of our free institutions, that will be demanded of us by our participation? . . .

If we are to remain at peace we must avoid becoming interested financially in the outcome of the European war, and our industries must not become too greatly compromised by foreign war orders.

Some naval experts point out that the view that we ought to fight now when we would have allies rather than take the chance of having to fight victorious totalitarian states flushed with victory at a later date, is based upon an incorrect evaluation of actual military facts and military history.

History is replete with instances demonstrating beyond a reasonable doubt that no insular nation (using the word insular in a military sense) is ever defeated so long as she retains command of her vital sea communications and further showing that her decline . . . begins with the decline of her sea power. . . .

Should Germany's submarines and aircraft succeed in overcoming the greatly superior fleets of Great Britain and France and destroying British sea power, there is every reason to infer that they could probably also overcome the United States Fleet if we entered the war and sent our fleet and aircraft to operate in European waters within ready reach of short-range aircraft and numerous small submarines. . . . On the other hand, should Germany's submarines and aircraft succeed in overcoming the navy of France, a neighboring nation, and of Great Britain, a nation separated from Germany by the narrow reaches of the North Sea and thus within ready reach of short-range aircraft and numerous small submarines, it would by no means follow that German submarines and aircraft could overcome the United States Navy in a similar fashion provided the United States Navy operated from its home bases to keep hostile forces far from our shores. . . .

If we allow ourselves to become engaged in the war in Europe as we did in the last war, one thing is certain—the whole energies of our people, of necessity, will be ordered, regimented, and directed by a single authority. Everything—manpower, industrial power, wealth production, transportation, liberty itself—will be at the service of the government. It makes no difference by what name such a government is called, it will assume absolute power over the life of every citizen. Bills to accomplish the above purposes have already been drafted and are probably ready for presentation to the Congress. If the proposed bills were enacted into law they would take away the individual rights of every American citizen and convert this country, within a few days, into a totalitarian dictatorship.

One entitled "A bill making available to the President the manpower of the nation" is a proposed selective service calling for the registration for military service of various age-classes of our young men.

Another, entitled "A bill making available to the President the material resources of the nation," proposes to authorize the President to fix the prices of any commodity, to fix wages, to regulate, limit, or prohibit the purchase, sale, use, transportation, manufacture, or distribution of any commodity or service, to buy and sell any commodity on such terms as he may deem desirable, to license any sort of business or commercial enterprise, and to forbid engaging in it without such license, to have the right of entry and inspection of all such licensed businesses by means of his duly authorized agents, to promulgate rules against waste, hoarding, speculation, and profiteering in any commodity or service and to delegate any authority or power conferred by the act to any person or agency he may think proper.

Another section of one of the proposed bills authorizes the President to suspend in whole or in part listed laws of the United States. Blank spaces are available for the insertion, during a war hysteria, of the titles of the various statutes to be placed at the Executive's mercy. The proposed bill concludes with the usual provisions of fine and imprisonment (amount and term left blank) for violators, and with a clause providing that if any part of the act be held unconstitutional, the rest shall not be affected. All of these proposed laws and plans are based upon the false assumption that to defend ourselves it will be necessary for us to build up a huge army and put forth an effort which will strain every national resource to the utmost. . . .

Why should we go to war to defend freedom, if we must begin by destroying it with our own hands? We need not do this. The cold, hard military fact is this: Our navy, adequate, supplemented by a highly efficient army and air force, will be so effective that few nations, not excluding victorious totalitarian nations, will challenge its power. . . .

The United States, in a military sense, is an insular nation. We cannot be attacked directly by the armed forces of any powerful foreign nation; we cannot be blockaded by surface vessels or submarines; we cannot be starved; we cannot be invaded; nor can our cities and homes be bombed from the air by foreign airplanes if we make sure we command the sea and air approaches.

Is it not apparent that those who advise us to abandon our policy of peace, and point to the plight of the Scandinavian countries as an example of the fate of America if we continue to pursue our policy of peace, are unaware of the military factors involved?

Is it not apparent that this view disregards geographical locations and, among others, the basic military fact that aircraft have a limited radius of action?

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Communiques Don't Tell Enough

Joseph Starobin projects some ideas on latest European news. How strong is Hitler? The way out.

THE Germans are unquestionably determined to win this war before next winter. Their show of strength in the Netherlands and Belgium, their break through the Little Maginot Line into France is very impressive. The German Army appears to be a remarkable fighting machine. Its motorized columns, its air force, its command are highly coordinated in the best Junker tradition, and better. Although the headlines in the American papers have the quality of deliberate hysteria—one might almost think the Allies are overstating their difficulties in order to win American support—the difficulties are, of course, real enough.

But Germany itself is a land of shadows. None of us knows what this offensive is costing, what reserves it will take to hold on to the English Channel. And it would not be telling the whole story to overlook the desperation that inspires this thrust for a quick decision. Before Munich, Germany's successes expended only Hitler's nervous energy. Things must be different now, and the difference is increasingly important. Germany is reaching the point where expansion and existence are the same process. She must keep advancing. To stop means bleeding to death.

A recent report of the Department of Agriculture estimates that "Germany entered the present war with a large proportion of her population inadequately nourished during the preceding two or three years." The New York *Herald Tribune* for May 16 analyzes German fiscal inflation: Hitler had already borrowed more by last September than did the Kaiser in four years of war. The Allied blockade has shattered German foreign trade; Britain is recklessly buying up materials from neutral countries who ordinarily supply the Reich. The same newspaper estimates that a thousand planes consume 1,400 tons of gasoline per day. That would mean 8,600 tons of crude oil—twice the present shipments from Rumania, a major German source.

Such figures are taken at random. They do not tell the whole story. But they imply that German social stability—such as it is—will degenerate at an accelerated pace as the war continues. Germany is consuming her own flesh and blood; unless the decision comes very soon, she will be fighting this war from her knees.

The same story differs only in degree for the Allies. The most they can hope for is a stalemate by summer; their spokesmen talk of a long war, three to five years. The fascization of Britain and France has gone far; their desperate rulers will push the process further. And what that will mean for the British and French peoples is another story. Said R. Palme Dutt in last January's *Labour Monthly:*

> The continuance of the imperialist war means a prolonged and increasingly destructive conflict, in which the downfall of the British empire may precede, instead of following, the fall of Nazism. All these possibilities exist in the present furnace of events which the war has brought to white heat.

Germany's stab in the West is shaking the older empires; a long conflict must shake both Germany and its rivals, inducing a tremendous radicalization throughout the world.

That is what worries Mr. Roosevelt and Herbert Hoover and Colonel Knox. Their fifty thousand planes and their army of a million men won't be ready for some time. But time enough, they hope, to attack and finish off their German rival, and time enough, they calculate, to prevent the advance of socialism in Europe. Otherwise they will be faced with the unhappy task of "building capitalism in one country." The only alternative they have to propose is the coercion of the American people into fascist autarchy, as the last paragraph of *The American White Paper* admits. That would open up the perspective of an era of reactionary wars, the misery of the old order assaulting the new. That is, if the people could be coerced.

Is it not on this account that the servility of the British Labor Leaders is so despicable and treacherous? Instead of taking advantage of the utter despair in the ruling class, dramatized by the House of Commons debate two weeks ago, instead of mobilizing the British people in revolutionary struggle for the cessation of the war, instead of giving the example that would rock all Europe, they have themselves taken over the desperate job of winning for the empire. Fifty resolutions at the Bournemouth Labor Party conference last week demanded an end to the truce with the national government. Bevin, Attlee, Greenwood, Alexander, Morrison themselves personify the truce, have themselves become the bulwark of the government. Prof. Harold Laski, soulmate of Leon Blum, was reported to have justified this action upon the assurance of getting "socialism when the war is over." What treacherous deception! It is like the gossamer speculation of a "just peace" in Europe—after the war is over. It is like John Maynard Keynes' proposal of a forced "loan" from the working people *now,* and a levy on capital—after the war is over. Yes, let us hope that socialism comes to Britain after this war. But it will only come by struggle against the war, against the offensive of the ruling class, against the Harold Laskis.

We cannot maintain a perspective on this war unless we fully appreciate that the larger part of Europe isn't in it. That larger part comprises, first of all, the USSR, where an expanding, fertile, virile, new social order has preserved peace for its own citizens, has kept the Baltic states out of the war, and Sweden, too, and now exercises a magnetic influence in the Balkans. Yugoslavia (who never recognized the USSR) is conducting trade negotiations. Bulgaria, where a majority of the workers and peasants have long been pro-Soviet, maintains close relations with her powerful neighbor. Hungary once saw social revolution; her people know that the Red Army stands across the Carpathian mountain passes. What remains? Greece and Rumania —the Balkan house of cards.

Mussolini knows his weaknesses in men and morale, in steel and oil. And yet if he goes into this war, he is bound to go either across the Alps to southern France or into the Balkans. That is why the President of the United States, and the Vatican, too, are worried. An Italian invasion of France would be bad; an invasion of Yugoslavia even worse. The USSR obviously desires the status quo in the Danube valley. But if the imperialists of either side go berserk and toss a tear-gas bomb into the Balkans, a million hands will rise up to throw it back.

Everywhere the question is being asked: What will the USSR do? Instinctively men recognize her great power of decision. That is the factor which distinguishes 1940 from 1914. People are beginning to grasp the distinctive difference between the USSR and the USA. With war on two of her borders, the USSR strives to stay out, to limit its spread. Thousands of miles away from two wars, the men who rule America rush to get in.

We do not know precisely what the USSR will do. Too many factors beyond our view determine its course. But one thing seems sure: the USSR pursues an independent course, motivated as always by the dual consideration of its own security and of the interests of the working peoples of all belligerents, all nations. The USSR observes the rapid German progress in the West, always aware of the ability of her own army in parachute maneuvers, in mechanized mobility. Never forget that the Germans had a choice; they chose not to fight the USSR.

The main responsibility lies with the peoples in the West. They must meet the bourgeoisie on its own ground. This is difficult in wartime precisely because war is the most brutal, concentrated expression of the ruling class offensive against its own people. But war also arouses the masses with a power that did not seem possible during peace.

Americans who realize the potentialities of this historical moment need not be dismayed by the headlines. Our obligation to the suffering peoples of Europe is to keep our own capitalist class from blitzkrieging us into this war. If we are equal to this task—and the American people for their own sake must be equal to it—the liberating sword of socialism, as in the legend of King Arthur, will rise up from the bloody waters. Millions will grasp it in firm hands. The recurrent crime against every human dignity, the crime of this war and the civilization that produces such wars, will be avenged.

JOSEPH STAROBIN.

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William Gropper

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No, Thanks, Keep Your Gold Stars

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn speaks for the mothers of America. "Fight for the life you gave them," she says. Motherpower needed to keep manpower from No Man's Land.

MILLIONS have spoken their mandate—*to be neutral,* stay out of this ghastly mechanized mass murder. The men of the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor oppose our entrance into this war. The CIO has fathered the "Yanks Are Not Coming" movement, a firm labor base for peace today. Great organizations of women—Gold Star Mothers, peace societies, YWCA; farmers, youth, Negro and Irish societies; Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish churches, and the Communist Party of the USA have all sent telegrams and resolutions to the President of the United States and to Congress to *"Keep America out of This War."*

Many conflicting views motivate the various forces converging into this present unanimity, making it tenuous, not too strong or dependable. But if women, youth, stand firm, the Peace Front will hold.

Dangerous appeals to our emotions are tragically evident. No one wants war; mothers abhor it, youth dreads it, fathers, veterans of the last war, emphasize its futility. Considerations of humanity and self-preservation dictate to keep out. Yet a *fatalistic fear* of the inevitability of our entrance is rapidly gripping many in our country. We hear, "Well, I guess we'll be in soon." An Irish Catholic elevator boy, member of the National Guard, said to me: "What the hell! I don't want to get into it, but Morgan and Rockefeller got us into the last war and they still have a lot of investment in it!" Millions of youth are shrugging their shoulders, in acceptance that war is upon them. Theirs is the pathetic male pretense of appearing brave, afraid to be called a coward, while in their hearts the youth tremble like frightened, quivering birds confronted by a rattlesnake. Mothers, we must break the spell; we must fight to save our youth. President Roosevelt *speculates* on our chances to keep out of war. At the Pan-American Scientific Congress he is a "pacifist," but—maybe we'll have to fight . . . Thus he sounds the war cry. Screaming headlines and hysterical radio commentators are beating the war drums. "We can't help ourselves" is America's surrender to war. Mothers, we must stop this surrender.

We can help ourselves! War is a man-made catastrophe, it isn't a natural disaster. If we were struck by another planet, or an earthquake, this attitude might make sense. But if our neighbor's house is on fire, must we set fire to ours? Can you put out their fire by adding fuel to the flame? Mothers of grown children, to echo "We can't help ourselves!" is passively to accept a death sentence for your sons, to throw your living, loving sons onto the funeral pyre of war. "We can't help ourselves!" is to make widows of your daughters, orphans of their children, and to desolate your old age. Young women, to agree, "We can't help ourselves!" is to send your young husbands and lovers out to commit mass suicide. If war comes tomorrow, thousands of mothers will lose their sons before another Mothers Day. We can and we must help ourselves! We must not capitulate. Register, stronger and louder than ever before, our opposition to war. *Americans want peace.* Over forty thousand voted so in three days on a peace ballot in Boston. Mothers' meetings and marches in Cleveland, Detroit, Philadelphia, New York, and other cities, thousands of signatures collected, testify to this.

They will try to trick us again as in 1917. "Stop Hitler" will be the next cry. All who do not rally instantly will be called "Nazis." "Pro-German" was the supreme insult of the last war. Hitler is a monster created by English and French appeasement. If France and England had come to the aid of loyalist Spain; if Franco and his allies, Hitler and Mussolini, had been stopped then; if Hitler had been halted at Munich; if France and England had accepted the proffered aid of the Soviet Union before October 1938, there would be no war today and no frantic calls to America to save the world. They puffed Hitler up to the proportions he is today—let them deflate him. You don't have to be for British imperialism to prove you're not for Hitler. A plague on both their houses! When thieves fall out honest men get their due, the old proverb says. British imperialism has no good cause to offer the American people, in view of the subjugation of 350,000,000 in India, her age-long, brutal suppression of the Irish people, and her chicanery in Palestine. Britain can't fight a war "for democracy" without shooting and hanging Irishmen and Indians. But let the so-called "mother country" be attacked and every sob sister and male bunk-shooter in America will wail with anguish for dear old England. She is no more our motherland than any other country whose sons and daughters have made America their home. In a thousand years she has shed blood around the globe, but the tight little island was safe and immune. The rulers of Britain have been overtender to Hitler and the people have no enthusiasm for what was too long a sham battle. If the Canadians, South Africans, Indians, Egyptians, and Irish have no taste for defending British imperialism, why should our American youth die for it? Mothers, I ask you, why?

War approaches with streamlined speed. A President and Congress demand Preparedness, another echo of 1917. A rabid pro-war press screams scareheads. War hysteria may be suddenly aroused by some fancied "insult" or maneuvered "injury." A people definitely against war may be plunged headlong into it through fatalistic apathy. Bankers, war profiteers, need cannon fodder to save their loans and investments, to multiply their profits. Unless women, youth, and labor unite courageously and with determination, we are on the toboggan slide into war.

Women, a few short weeks ago I wrote an anti-war appeal to you, "I Didn't Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier—for Wall Street." My big, handsome, healthy-looking son used to sit in the next room, read his papers and smoke his cigar. On May 19 he would have been thirty years old. He laughed at me when I became too intense, and said, "Don't worry. They won't get *me!*" Well, it's true, now, they'll never get him, because he died on March 29. But I would a million times rather he was here to fight side by side with me against war. The shock and grief I endured in the hospital and since his death were softened by the realization that all that modern science could offer was his in a splendidly equipped hospital. Highly skilled surgeons, doctors who had been in Spain, were at his bed beside me. In this terrible loss of my only son I know what awaits you, mothers of America, if your sons die. Fight for them now, while they are with you. Tomorrow may be too late. You will not know if they hunger or thirst, if they are wounded and lie forgotten, neglected, through many dreadful hours of pain. You will not know if they are killed—or worse, "missing." At least I do not face that daily uncertainty which will torture you when your boy is far away on a foreign battlefield. I cry out to you, Do your sons have to go? Mine had a death sentence, a tumor in his chest. He had to risk death in a desperate attempt to save his life. *But are your sons sentenced to death?* No, we must thunder in voices that will shake the dullards in Washington. Say to your sons, you do not have to go. We hear much of manpower in these militaristic days. But what of womanpower—*motherpower*—to stop this fatalistic talk of war? Let us hold more and bigger meetings, demonstrations in public places, marches—a woman's march to Washington, if necessary. Let us take a people's referendum on war, especially a woman's vote against war. In 1917 they stopped the song:

> "There'd be no wars today, if mothers all would say,
> I didn't raise my boy to be a soldier!"

It was true and they were afraid. Don't be discouraged, defeated, mothers. It means you will wait and weep, later. Keep your sons. Do not give them up. Fight for them, fight for the life you gave them. Fight against war.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN.

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America Has Her Peons, Too

Herbert Aptheker's remarkable expose of 1940's slavery—the peons of the South. "I forbid anyone to hire Herman Miles, colored . . ." was in an ad today—not 1850.

As ONE of the results of four years of civil war and the loss of a million men, the people of the United States were able to declare on Dec. 18, 1865, in the Thirteenth Amendment to their fundamental law, that "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

Congress in 1867 enacted a law prohibiting forced employment, debt slavery, and, by name, the system of peonage. It provided penalties of a $5,000 fine and imprisonment up to five years for such offenses. The Supreme Court of the United States in 1911 upheld the constitutionality of this anti-peonage law and reaffirmed the illegality of involuntary servitude.

But there is a very wide margin between illegalization and abolition of an evil—between *saying* that something is wrong, and *doing* something about wiping out that wrong. History demonstrates that the administration of the American government for the past seventy years, without exception, has been bold in speech and painfully shy in action so far as the abolition of slavery is concerned. The fact is that at this very moment hundreds of thousands of American citizens are *forced to labor* for little or practically no wages, twelve to sixteen hours a day, six and one-half days a week; lashes, bullets, or the chain gang await any who protest or are captured while attempting to escape.

Read the resolution adopted by the Georgia White Baptist Convention held in Augusta, Nov. 11, 1939:

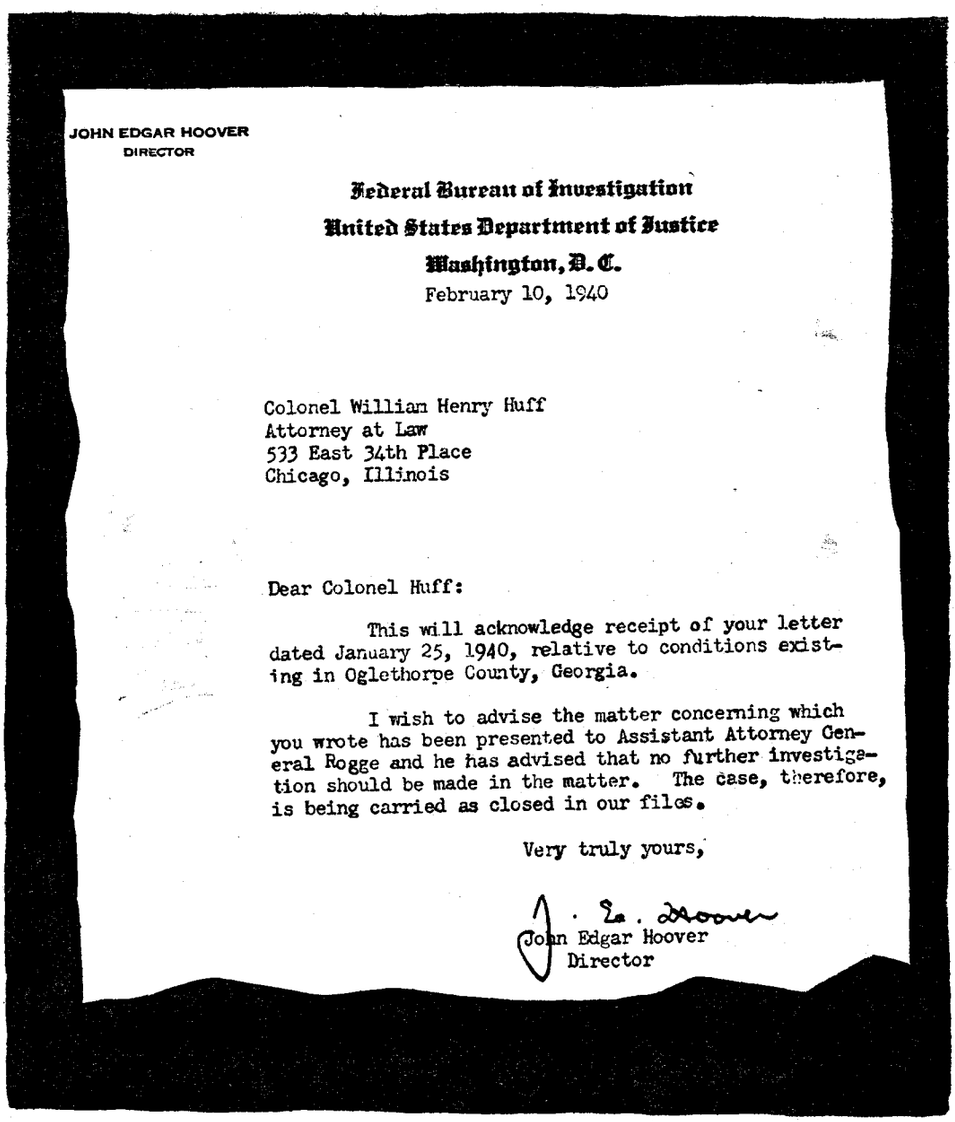
> Peonage or debt slavery has by no means disappeared from our land. There are more white people affected by this diabolical practice than were slaveholders; there are more Negroes held by these debt slavers than were actually owned as slaves before the war between the states.

And in 1860 there were over 300,000 slaveholders and over four million slaves in this nation. That resolution is one of the news items which our free press does not see "fit to print."

Such conditions have existed for seven decades. It is certainly high time that the facts were widely known and that something decisive was done about them. In the very year (1867) of the passage of the federal Anti-Peonage Law the Montgomery, Ala., *Daily State Sentinel* of December 28 recorded the fact that "a system of peonage is inaugurated." From then right up to the present day evidence of the widespread existence of this crime has appeared and reappeared.

The first conviction for the practice of peonage was obtained back in 1901 against John W. Pace of Alabama, who was later pardoned by Theodore Roosevelt. One year later three planters in Georgia were convicted, but Federal Judge Speer suspended their sentences "during good behavior." Such leniency in the punishment for this particular federal offense has been characteristic throughout the years. In 1927 the government secured twenty-one convictions of peonage against plantation proprietors, but the sentences for these criminals *totaled* only four and one-half years and $4,000 in fines. The most recent conviction was obtained against P. D. Peacher of Earl, Ark., in November 1936. The federal judge sentenced him to three years' imprisonment and a fine of $3,500, but suspended the penal sentence immediately on payment of the fine. It would seem that the enslavement of Americans is but nothing compared to writing "None" on one's passport application.

The annual reports of the United States attorney generals from 1907, when eighty-three complaints concerning peonage were received, to the present (with the significant exceptions of 1917-19 when this country was too busy saving "democracy" for the world to bother about slavery at home) contain references to the existence of involuntary servitude. At times these reports declare that "this practice appears to be still quite



JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.
February 10, 1940

Colonel William Henry Huff
Attorney at Law
533 East 34th Place
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Colonel Huff:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter dated January 25, 1940, relative to conditions existing in Oglethorpe County, Georgia.

I wish to advise the matter concerning which you wrote has been presented to Assistant Attorney General Rogge and he has advised that no further investigation should be made in the matter. The case, therefore, is being carried as closed in our files.

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

NO HELP FROM WASHINGTON. *J. Edgar Hoover and Assistant Attorney General Rogge attempt to shelve an investigation of peonage conditions.*

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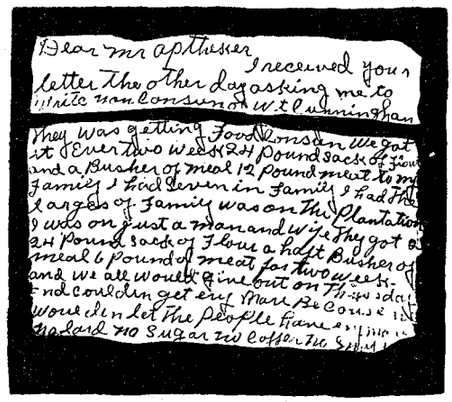
extensively carried on" (1911), or "peonage was found to exist to a shocking extent" (1921).

Newspapers and magazines have also from time to time mentioned the existence of peonage. Most often this happens at times of concerted protest on the part of the enslaved workers, as in Arkansas in 1919, in Mississippi and Alabama in 1931 and 1932, and in Arkansas and Alabama in 1935 and 1936. At other times some national calamity forces the ugly sore to the surface, such as the Florida hurricane of 1926, the Southern drought of 1930, and the Mississippi floods of 1927 and 1932.

In the fall of 1937 armed planters gathered to prevent cotton pickers from leaving Warren County, Ga. Hoodlums were also hired by these slavedrivers to bring by force Negro workers—barbers, bootblacks, and garage attendants—from the nearby cities for work on the cotton fields. In November 1937 authorities of Louisiana herded together five thousand Negro WPA workers and forced them, under the surveillance of National Guardsmen, to labor on the sugar plantations. O. K. Armstrong has told of discovering in 1937 widespread forced labor in turpentine camps and on farms in Florida. He was commissioned to submit a report on these conditions by Governor Carlton, but when that politician was succeeded by Governor Cole the latter refused to act upon Armstrong's findings. They now gather dust in the state archives of Florida.

James Wiggins, a Negro worker of Clarksdale, Miss., testified in January 1938 that he and his wife had been forced at gun point to work for one J. S. Decker. Upon attempting to escape and being caught, they were chained and offered for sale at $175. In March 1938 an Alabama planter, T. J. Blair, was indicted on charges of operating a peonage farm but nothing further appears to have been done in the case. Ernest Meyer, in his New York *Post* column of March 12, 1938, told of a Negro woman, Mrs. Henrietta McGhee, an escaped peon from Arkansas, who bore marks of her servitude on her body. But nothing has been done to punish her enslavers.

A Federated Press dispatch of Aug. 10, 1939, referred to peonage charges brought by three Negro women against Bruce Darby of Shreveport, La. The women had been beaten, lashed, and branded, yet nothing has been done about the gallant Mr. Darby. In November 1939 the Yanceyville, N. C., *Caswell Messenger* carried the following advertisement, reminiscent of a fugitive slave advertisement of a hundred years ago: "NOTICE—I forbid anyone to hire or harbor Herman Miles, colored, during the year 1939. A. P. Dabbs, Route 1, Yanceyville." Said the *Evening Sun* of Baltimore, editorializing about this notice on Dec. 6, 1939: "Probably it wouldn't be difficult to discover similar items of Americana in Mississippi and other regions of the Deep, or Low-Down South; but we're a bit chagrined to find it in North Carolina."


Dear mr apthesser I received your
letter the other day asking me to
write you consurning W. T. Cunningham
They was getting Food Monsen We got
it Ever two weeks 24 Pound Sack of Flour
and a Bushel of meal 12 Pound meat to my
family I had Seven in family I had Five
Largest of family was on the Plantation
I was on just a man and wife They got a
24 Pound Sack of Flour a half Bushel of
meal 6 Pound of meat for two weeks
and we all would give out on Thursday
and couldn get eny More Because we
would'n let the People Have
and 10 Sugar 10 Coffee

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE. *Excerpt from a letter by a Negro describing the slavery system on the W. T. Cunningham plantation in Georgia. The letter itself appears on the next page.*

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People called this North Carolina item to the attention of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on Dec. 9, 1939. They have not yet (April 17, 1940) received any reply from a division of what is supposed to be the Department of Justice.

While Rebel yells were rending the air at the Atlanta premiere of Margaret Mitchell's glorification of the old slavocracy in December 1939, two representatives of the modern slavocracy, Fred and Roy Reeves of Thomson, Ga., were being tried for holding Robert Parker, a young Negro, in peonage. Roy Reeves admitted compelling Mr. Parker to labor for him without wages, forcibly recapturing him when he fled on July 26, and beating him the next day with a plow line "about thirty-five or forty times." Pictures of Robert Parker taken ten weeks later showed him to be still in a bad condition. Yet the Messrs. Reeves pleaded not guilty and declared that what they had done "was no more than anybody else there would do." The jury being "hopelessly divided" could not reach a verdict. A new trial was put off for six months.

The Washington office of the NAACP has in April 1940 learned of another case of peonage from the lips of Claude B. Cistrunk, who escaped from Coleman and Kinch Watkins, operators of a saw mill in Mashulaville, Miss. Mr. Cistrunk received nothing but blows for fourteen months' labor at this mill, and has deposited a sworn statement to this effect with Mr. Rogge, the assistant attorney general at Washington.

The most flagrant and notorious case of debt slavery yet made public is connected with the plantations owned by the infamous Mr. William Tolliver Cunningham of Oglethorpe County, Ga. This modern Simon Legree, who owns three large cotton plantations and enslaves scores of Negroes, operates his business in a manner that indicates a conscious attempt to reinstitute the slave system of a hundred years ago. Now, as then, the workday extends from fourteen to seventeen hours, or, as one of the escaped peons expressed it to the writer, "from dark to dark." Food is, as it was, rationed out to the workers every two weeks. The father of a family of six children told me, on Feb. 8, 1940, that their allowance for the two-week period consisted of a twenty-four pound sack of flour, a bushel of meal, and twelve pounds of meat. A man and wife alone received for the same period a twenty-four pound sack of flour, half a bushel of meal and six pounds of meat. *Nothing* else was given, with the result that the couple went hungry for three or four days out of the fourteen.

Protests or attempts at escape bring, as once they brought, curses, blows, lashes, beatings with clubs or pistol butts, and, in at least one case, shooting. Needless to say, wages are non-existent.

The conditions in Oglethorpe County have been brought before the public as a result of the heroic and persistent, and frequently successful, efforts of the peons to escape. The Negro people have today, as they did over one hundred years ago, created an underground railroad, with terminals at Atlanta, Baltimore, Cincinnati, and Chicago. Relatives and friends of these Negroes have aided them with funds, shelter, and encouragement. And others have, at considerable risk, gone into Cunningham's bailiwick to aid the enslaved Americans.

It was at the suggestion of William Henry Huff, a Chicago Negro attorney, that the International Labor Defense established the Abolish Peonage Committee. That committee, formed in the finest traditions of the old Abolitionist organizations, is now in existence and will remain in existence, organizing and directing public opinion and offering aid to the modern slaves, until the system which has called them into being is destroyed.

In January 1940 Huff sent full details, in the form of numerous affidavits, of the practice of peonage and of the commission of other federal crimes by William T. Cunningham to the Department of Justice at Washington. On Feb. 10, 1940, the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, J. Edgar Hoover, replied to Huff as follows:

> This will acknowledge receipt of your letter dated Jan. 25, 1940, relative to conditions existing in Oglethorpe County, Ga.
>
> I wish to advise the matter concerning which you wrote has been presented to Assistant Attorney General Rogge and he has advised that no further investigation should be made in the matter. The case, therefore, is being carried as closed in our files.

More sworn testimony detailing the facts in the matter were forwarded to the Department of Justice by Bob Wirtz, secretary of the committee. This time Hoover's assistant, W. S. Devereaux, replied, on Feb. 16, 1940:

> Receipt is acknowledged of your communication dated Feb. 14, 1940, enclosing copies of affidavits concerning William Tolliver Cunningham.
>
> Please be advised that these copies of affidavits are being made a part of the official files of this bureau.

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I wish to advise that the matter concerning which you wrote has been presented to the Assistant Attorney General Rogge at Washington, D. C., and he has advised that no further investigation should be made of the matter. The case, therefore, is being carried as closed in our files.

It now became obvious to the committee that these servants of the people needed to be "advised" a little more vehemently. Had there existed no central organization it appears likely that Mr. Hoover would have succeeded in his evident wish to shelve investigation of this particular form of lawbreaking. But these rebuffs merely evoked greater action on the part of the committee. Pressure was exerted through the protests of the International Labor Defense with its 300,000 members, the National Negro Congress representing hundreds of thousands of citizens, the NAACP, the Protective Order of Elks representing 500,000 Negroes, the National Baptist Convention representing four million Negroes, and the CIO Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America.

The politicians discovering with something of a shock that millions of voters were concerned about the enslavement of their fellow citizens, began to back water. Soon the committee learned that the assistant United States attorney general, Mr. Rogge, would be glad to grant its representatives an appointment. And so, during the entire day of March 25, 1940, Mr. Rogge listened to the demands for action made by J. Finley Wilson of the Elks, Charles Houston of the NAACP, John P. Davis of the National Negro Congress, William Henry Huff of the Abolish Peonage Committee, William Fleming and Otis Woods, two of the escaped peons, Louis Colman and William Patterson of the ILD, and William H. Hastie, dean of the Howard University Law School.

The Department of Justice has decided, so it declares, to remove the affidavits from the files, get them into the hands of its investigators, and see that peonage conditions are thoroughly probed.

Mr. John P. Davis remarked, however, on behalf of the delegation:

We are not completely satisfied with the agreements made by Mr. Rogge, and it is our definite feeling that considerable and constant pressure will have to be brought to bear on the department in connection with these and similar cases before real, vigorous action will be taken that will result in federal prosecution of conditions approximating slavery which exist over a wide section of America.

Mr. Davis is unquestionably correct. In the words of another and an immortal Negro leader, Frederick Douglass:

If there is no struggle there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom yet deprecate agitation are men who want crops without plowing ground. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and never will.

HERBERT APTHEKER.

Norris on the FBI

"I BELIEVE that the methods being pursued by the Federal Bureau of Investigation are wrong, and, if continued, mean the destruction of human liberty in the United States.

"I think the methods employed constitute a serious danger and they ought to be corrected and corrected now. I am sorry that the attorney general does not see the situation in that light and realize that the activities of the FBI ought to be curbed at the present time. Otherwise, as I see it—and of course I may be entirely wrong, I admit—but as I see it and believe it to be, unless there is a correction, unless there is a rein put upon that bureau, it will eventually mean the destruction in the United States of the liberties and the privileges we all like to say are guaranteed to every citizen under our flag by the Constitution of the United States. . . ."—*Senator Norris of Nebraska, in his four hour speech in the Senate, May 7, attacking Attorney General Jackson's whitewash of the FBI's action against Detroit sympathizers with loyalist Spain.*

Comprehension No Hindrance

"THAT brings us to the second prophecy [about the presidential campaign], namely: That a publicly admitted understanding of the issues of the war in Europe will not be the handicap to a candidate's chances that everybody now seems to think it would be."—*Frederic Nelson in the Baltimore "Sun," May 12.*

From One Who Escaped

The following letter was received by Herbert Aptheker from a Negro peon who escaped from the Cunningham plantation in Oglethorpe County, Ga. The letter has been edited slightly to make it easier to read.

DEAR MR. APTHEKER: I received your letter the other day asking me to write you of Wt Cunninghan . . . Not a one on the place could tell what they was getting for wages . . . by the day. Diden no what they was getting for hours because none did work by the hours . . . Every two week 24 pound sack of flour and a bushel of meal 12 pound meat to my family. I had seven in family. I had the largest of family . . . on the plantation . . . A man and wife they got a 24 pound sack of flour and a half bushel of meal 6 pound of meat for two week . . . We all would give out on Thursday and coulden get eny more because he woulden let the people have eny more. No lard no sugar no coffee no snuff for the weomen . . . He paid $8 for me thatwhy I was their but I never did no what I was getting for my work. Dinnes Thomas he married my wife mother. He escapes one Monday morning so Wt Cunninghan sent John Paul and overtaken him. And John Paul overtaken Dinnes and bring him back and turn him over to Wt Cunninghan with the handcuff on him. And Wt. Cunninghan beat him over the head with his pistol and then bring him out on the plantation where I live to the house where he beat the Negroes at and made him pull off his clothes and laid down cross a sack of syrup cane seed and beat him with a bugger trace and let him up and told him to go home and change clothes. Because Dinnes could not walk fast he call Dinnes back in the house and beat him again and let him up. And Dinnes went home and changes clothes and went to work. The clothes he pull off was bloody as they could be. So on Tusday night I taken Dinnes and escapes and went to Atlanta. I taken him to the healing building before the men and they pull Dinnes clothes off. They were stuck to his back. You dont believe me you go to the healing building in Atlanta and you will fine Dinnes picture what they taken with his clothes off. My case is in Atlanta. I was sick one Monday morning Cunninghan came to my house and claim he was going to take me to the doctor . . . Got up to the big house . . . he slap me and I had to go to work. I diden count the hands he had in Lexington but it was 39 on the plantation I live on beside the children . . . that work. I move their Wensday before the second Sunday in January 1938 and escapes in June. I work their five mounth my two girl work four mounth my wife mother work four mounth and my two girls got 50c a peice. After I left there my wife mother diden get a penny. While she was their I went to Atlanta and prosecute Wt Cunninghan and the G men sent a man out on the farm . . . I want my case to be tried when Dock Wood and Otis Wood is tried. I dont mean to tell enything but the truth all of my witness is in Atlanta and some in Chicago. What it take to brake up Oglethorpe is a prosecutor to . . . get on the stand and tell it . . . because I will die with the truth in my mouth. I am in a bad condition now. Been snowing here. My people been down sick . . . Lost my baby. Cant work. On Cunninghan plantation the weomen stop at 11 oclock to go cook dinner and bring it to the well. We coulden go home and get dinner no days. Had to be in the lots three minutes after the bell ring . . . A man diden have no say so over his children . . . Dont use my name in no newspaper down threw the southern state but use it in court. From —— ——.

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The Empires' Real War Aims

Corliss Lamont sees them in Andre Siegfried's current statement. The racial theories of the Allies in practice. "White supremacy"—in the Nazi image.

BRITISH propaganda in the United States is not always as subtle as the Trojan Horsemen of King George could wish. Sometimes there turns up one of those bluff, outspoken Britishers like Alfred Duff Cooper who gave poor Lord Lothian so many headaches on his American lecture tour last fall and who recently, in a rousing speech in London, initiated the new British line of calling for war to the death against the entire German people.

Then there are the French protagonists of Britain's glory, well known writers and intellectuals, whose native intellectual honesty not infrequently gets the better of them and is a constant source of worry to his majesty's Foreign Office. One of these is Andre Siegfried, professor at the College de France, whose article, "War for Our World," in the current issue of the American quarterly, *Foreign Affairs,* states quite openly the real war aims of Anglo-French imperialism.

In the modern age, Professor Siegfried tells us, "the British empire has been the great civilizing power." It created "a sort of international mercantile republic," operating under the British flag;

> but by virtue of a principle called "fair play" any white person, of whatever country, could take advantage of it. . . . Part and parcel of the system was the maintenance of white prestige, for England alone had ready means of protecting white people even in the most out-of-the-way corners of the world. . . . The British Fleet policed the seas, kept order in Asia, defended the white man everywhere.

Dr. Siegfried warms to his theme: "White civilization the globe over is a unit. Which of the various powers that share in that civilization is to exercise leadership? This is the real issue of the present war." Leadership throughout the world, he goes on to say, "must derive from and be imbued with the true spirit of our Western civilization," which has been mainly developed by France, England, and the United States. But, alas, "In many regions white supremacy already is a thing of the past and in others it is tottering." The English are finding it increasingly difficult to fulfill their world functions; and Siegfried is most apprehensive over the prospect of their being beaten in the European war. A serious English defeat

> would mean a dislocation far surpassing the confines of Europe. The key positions of European civilization everywhere would be grievously weakened. There would be an outburst of racial movements in all quarters of the globe. From this standpoint the British, French, and other colonial empires seem to form a major defense line behind which white civilization has been able to live and prosper.

So there it all is as clear as can be. This is a war to save civilization; civilization is *Western* civilization, since of course the peoples of the East have never contributed anything worth mentioning to human culture; Western civilization is France, England, and the USA, since of course the peoples of Germany, Italy, Scandinavia, Spain, and Russia have never contributed much either; Western civilization is *white* civilization; and white civilization, when you come right down to it, is primarily the British empire, with the French helping a bit in North Africa. Put in its baldest terms, therefore, the chief issue in the European war for Siegfried is the preservation of that wonderful arrangement by which England's small aristocracy is able to exploit and hold in bondage 400,000,000 colored subjects from one end of the earth to the other.

Professor Siegfried's enlightening analysis of war issues applies to the past as well as the present. The United States, he believes, went to war in 1917 "for the sake of Anglo-Saxon solidarity—in order to maintain in all parts of the world the preeminence of Anglo-Saxon civilization." And he suggests, a little coyly, to be sure, that America should do the same again.

> The United States might itself become the leader of the white race and itself take over the responsibilities of empire, either jointly with England or in place of England. [The professor is indeed generous.] One may guess that sooner or later the United States will decide to accept world responsibilities transcending the limits of the American continent. . . . But until it makes its decision Europe alone must uphold the world order on which our civilization depends.

We certainly must congratulate Andre Siegfried on his candor. There is very little talk in his article about democracy and the rights of small nations; and from his own side of the fence he makes the imperialist nature of the war about as plain as any anti-imperialist could ask. The American public must face frankly the issue which this French writer presents, especially since President Roosevelt, in his recent bellicose address to Congress, hinted at a somewhat similar viewpoint when he gratuitously mentioned the fact that Alaska has "a white population of only thirty thousand people."

The basic question provoked by Siegfried is whether we Americans want to enter a world conflict for the sake of preserving that "white civilization" which the British ruling class maintains by armed might and highly undemocratic government over approximately one-fifth of the earth's inhabitants. How, for instance, do the fourteen million Negroes in this country feel about the idea of fighting a great war to make the world safe for the English aristocracy's arrogant theories of Anglo-Saxon superiority, racial theories, which, practiced as a matter of course throughout the empire, have precious little to recommend them over the hideous Nazi ideology itself? What does *any* democratic-minded American think about sending millions of our young men into battle to rescue a capitalist autocracy that shudders at the very suggestion of extending the concept of democracy to include the black, brown, and yellow peoples of the globe? What possible justification can there be for plunging the United States into the infinite horrors and costs of an international slaughter-fest in order to decide whether the British "Nordics," with their French, Dutch, and Belgian satellites, or the German "Nordics," with their Italian satellites, are to crack the imperialist whip over the colored populations of Asia and Africa?

These are some of the elementary questions to which Dr. Siegfried's piece gives rise. No doubt he wrote his article for the small, esoteric group of readers, predominantly Anglophile, who constitute the chief audience of *Foreign Affairs* and for whom the snob slogan of "white civilization" would have a definite appeal. But personally I think that the article deserves far broader circulation. In fact, the American anti-war movement could do no better than to spread it far and wide.

I want to guard, however, against giving the impression that in criticizing the British imperialists I am for one moment forgetting the repeated crimes and brutalities of the Nazi imperialists or am in any sense overlooking the Nazi government's savage exploitation of the German people and of the foreign populations conquered by its ruthless military machine. The reason why those who are opposed to American involvement in the European imbroglio have tended recently to stress the sins of Anglo-French imperialism is simply this: there is not the slightest danger of our going in on the side of Hitler, but there is very grave danger of our going in on the side of Churchill, Chamberlain, and Reynaud.

Meanwhile let us reflect that America has a pretty good civilization of its own, despite its many present defects, and one that has tremendous potentialities for the future. We can adequately defend and develop that civilization even if the British fleet is sunk without a trace, even if the British empire loses some of its choicest overseas possessions, even, indeed, if "white supremacy" does considerable tottering in various regions of the earth. And without being isolationist in the sense of turning our backs on the rest of the world, we can stay out of imperialist wars and cultivate our own garden, which is in dire need of the most concentrated and expert attention.

CORLISS LAMONT.

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India: 360,000,000 in Motion

What is happening in that subcontinent? Which way will it go in the war? Where does Gandhi stand today? Nehru and Bose.

WHEN a whole population has come wholeheartedly to hate its rulers, change cannot be too long delayed. In 1924, Joseph Stalin pointed to this factor as giving India special importance. Explaining the "illogical" triumph of the revolution in Russia rather than in an industrialized country, he said that history chooses the weakest link in the chain of imperialism. For that reason he thought India a not unlikely place for the next break.

What was true in 1924 is, as a matter of fact, doubly true today. A mere handful of men (there are some sixty thousand British in India) keep 360,000,000 discontented Indians in subjection to the king-emperor. By what magic is this accomplished? The answer is in a single word: division.

India is the classic example of "divide and rule." All her diversities of geography, economy, race, class, language, and sorrow, skillfully converted into political rivalries, are crystallized in a native army of Sikhs and Gurkhas whereby Britain compels India to strangle herself with her own hands. First, administrative barriers: Burma and Ceylon are hacked out of India; India is then divided into British India and the seven hundred-odd native states. Next Hindu and Moslem are set one against the other by the arbitrary "communal" system of elections—as though we were to elect to our Congress, not one representative for a given number of *persons* in each district, but one *Catholic* congressman for each hundred thousand Catholics in the United States and one *Protestant* for each hundred thousand Protestants. Or, if the Catholics were given a disproportionate number of seats in order to irritate the Protestants, the parallel with India would be even more exact. Of course the disproportion itself creates a set of politicians whose jobs would vanish if the creator of the system were driven from power. They are therefore stout defenders of the master. In India this is the role of the Moslem League headed by Mohammed Ali Jinnah.

JINNAH

Jinnah proposes the creation of a Moslem state embracing most of northern India, a sort of "Moslem Ulster" which would support Britain in the present war. This impudent scheme is put forward in the name of India's eighty million Mohammedans. As a matter of fact there are more Moslems in the Congress Party than in the League. Congress, for instance, obtained a majority in the Northwest Provinces, which have the largest Mohammedan concentration in India. What is more, the Shiahs, one of the two major sects into which Islam is divided, abhor the League. Jinnah represents the Moslems only as the Indian princes represent the people of the native states: by virtue of the fact that the British "Paramount Power" recognizes no other spokesman.

The "communal question" is not only of British creation and convenience but it is a principal tool of the "mother country's" international strategy. H. N. Brailsford sums it up with something of a sigh in a recent *New Statesman and Nation* article, as follows: "The traditional expedient of the British ruling class has always been to play for the sympathy of the Moslems. From Jerusalem to Angora and from Angora to Delhi that well worn device has come back into favor today."

Against division there is an obvious remedy: unity. That is the function of the All-India National Congress. The Congress embraces five million members who, in district elections, choose delegates to the provincial congresses. The latter in turn elect the members of the National Congress. Since there are only thirty million qualified voters out of the 270,000,000 population of British India, the voters tend to be from the upper property-and-education levels. This is reflected in domination of the Congress by the intellectuals. That is why the Congress is not always a resolute body; but it is nevertheless the common denominator of an India otherwise hopelessly fractioned. The strengthening of the Congress by increased mass participation and struggle is the preoccupation of every independence-minded Indian today.

One factor impeding the development of the Congress is the dictatorship of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. Gandhi is the British-trained lawyer and orthodox Hindu ascetic. Gandhi is the Don Quixote-like crusader since 1893 for wronged *groups* of Indians (those in South Africa subjected to color discrimination; the untouchables of South India, etc.,) and at the same time the Sancho Panza-like squire of British imperialism, who organized an ambulance corps against the Boers; who organized stretcher bearers and went out against the Zulus. He enlisted an ambulance corps again during the World War by way of inviting more honest imperialist servants to recruit soldiers. All these Gandhis make it difficult for us to understand the phenomenon of Gandhi and his phenomenal grip on the Indian people. But if we cast aside the hocus-pocus of "East is East" and substitute the reality of Indian feudalism coming to grips with advancing capitalist imperialism, we can fully comprehend the data of Gandhi.

British conquest in India and exploitation of its resources have involved the building of railroads, development of communications, construction of factories, creation of a native bourgeoisie and proletariat, introduction of Western thought, and so on. Taken together, that spells the growth of nationalism, of the all-India idea where formerly there was only local loyalty. Britain even supplied a language for Congress communication: English. Gandhi is a leader *made* by Indian nationalism, but he is also the man who has done more than all others combined to spread that nationalism and hasten it to its present unanimity. There is little doubt that he has traveled in India more than any man in all its thousands of years of religious pilgrimages. He has gone by automobile and foot to every part, among every people, across forbidden lines of caste, across the injunction lines of the courts, into the packing-box homes of Delhi railway workers and the pigsties inhabited by the workers on the indigo plantations. In the most literal sense he has brought the message of Indian nationalism to the dark millions who had never heard the word, in their own language, for "India."

I will be accused of romancing when I tell you what it means to "carry the word" to the people of India. You arrive in a village and within an hour the word has spread and thousands have arrived from the outlying areas. You move on, and before you reach the next village the process has been completed there. At foot pace, it is possible to address a different audience every hour and every audience will be not less than twenty-five to a hundred thousand persons! Such is the hunger of India; Gandhi was the most tireless in feeding it.

It is Gandhi the ascetic, the *sadhu,* the holy man, who most puzzles the Westerner. But the saint stuff is marvelous equipment for the perfect Indian demagogue. I have no doubt that Gandhi clings to the orthodox practices of Hinduism, long discarded by the majority of Congress members, out of personal preference. But there is also no question but that he deliberately exploits his orthodoxy to tighten his hold on the backward masses. He thereby makes himself the spokesman of the peasantry, in particular, unhappily voicing its prejudices toward archaic Hinduism rather than its aspirations. It is as the representative of the peasantry that Gandhi dominates the Indian National Congress.

GANDHI—POLITICAL BOSS

And dominate he does. Gandhi is a political boss extraordinary. He tells the Congress leaders that war requires dictatorship; that civil disobedience is a form of war; that when they are displeased with him they may throw him to the wolves; but that while they wish his leadership it must be in the form of abso-

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lute dictatorship. To the Ramgarh Congress in the middle of March he repeated this thesis. "We must break the bonds of slavery, but if I am your general you must accept my conditions," he told the Congress members. And his dictatorship has been a repeating disaster to the Indian people. In 1922 and 1931, for instance, his sudden lone-wolf decisions to call off civil disobedience, betrayed millions of worshipful followers to the British hangman, flogger, jailer, and starvation supervisor. The social content of Gandhism is bitterly and unreservedly reactionary.

India's salvation [he once said] consists in unlearning what she has learned during the past fifty years. The railways, telegraphs, hospitals, lawyers, doctors, and suchlike have all to go; and the so-called upper classes have to learn consciously, religiously, and deliberately the simple peasant life.

His ardent support of the caste system is the unchanging core of this philosophy. It is true that he encourages the fraternizing of high caste Hindus with the outcaste untouchables. But untouchableness is only the open sore of the caste system. The caste system itself is a division of society according to the rigid class patterns of feudalism with the blessing of the Hindu church. As the spokesman for this system, Gandhi makes himself the avowed defender of feudalism, the main prop of British rule.

Economically, Gandhism is equally a return to the past. The per capita average daily income of India is 3.5 cents. One reason for this, as Gandhi knows, is that the British destroyed a flourishing native textile industry which supplied four months' work a year for the present millions. He therefore proposes to destroy the factories—in our time!—and return to *khadi* (home-spun, home-woven cloth). After years of effort in this direction (to which he diverted the strength of the nationalist movement) he can boast of having found work for some fifty thousand women in perhaps two thousand villages. But there are 700,000 villages in India and 110,000,000 permanently unemployed. Yet even now he insists that the country is not ready for civil disobedience until every Congress member is himself engaged in "spinning and promoting the cause of *khadi* to the exclusion of mill cloth." The peasant starves—his life expectancy is twenty-five years—and Gandhi's solution is to fast in sympathy, cheered on by orthodox Hinduism (e.g., the Hindu *Mahasabha,* organ of the native bankers and big landlords, enemies of Indian independence).

The bulk of the intellectual leadership of the Congress is anti-feudal and therefore anti-Gandhi, but it is also wonderfully illustrative of the unstable nature of the petty bourgeoisie. The best of the opposition politicians surrender their principles every time there is a clash with Gandhi, as Jawaharlal Nehru humbly and candidly acknowledges in his *Autobiography*. Gandhi, on the other hand, relying on wide peasant support so long as feudal prejudice remains unshaken in the villages, is unyielding in his contests with the younger intellectuals. He gives ground only under pressure.

Yet the Congress *has* gone forward. From its beginning in 1885 as a petitioning body with faith in British justice, to 1927 when young Nehru took advantage of Gandhi's quiescence to push a "complete independence" resolution through the Congress, it took a long stride. The period from 1927 to 1930, when Gandhi himself gave the fighting words, was a forced march. Progress from 1930 to 1936, when the Congress for the first time resolved that Indian manpower and Indian resources were not to be used in any future wars for British imperialism, was a leap. From 1936 to 1940, when with the fact of war before them the Congress rejected support of the war and demanded an immediate struggle for independence, there was no retreat.

We may, therefore, with complete assurance attribute the advance of the Congress to the steadily increasing wisdom of the masses, to their independent activities. In the first place, the proletariat has, since perhaps 1936, begun to exert real leadership in the day-to-day struggles of the whole Indian people. The growth of the *kisan sabhas,* peasant organizations, has been more than encouraging. The three-way split in the trade unions has been healed and the efforts to substitute Red-baiting for militant leadership have failed. The Communist Party has become a notable influence in Indian politics since 1934. In late 1938, or early 1939, the leader of the party, Adhikar, was elected to the Bombay Council at the head of the councilmanic list. Nimka, treasurer of the All-India Trade Union Congress, a known Communist, was the Congress delegate to Geneva.

These influences are felt within the National Congress. In the first place, workers, peasants, trade union leaders, and Communists are in the Congress—and form a majority in the Congress—coming as elected individual delegates representing their districts, not their organizations. It is true that, despite Nehru's support, the trade unions and peasant organizations were not permitted to affiliate to the Congress directly. It is true, also, that the main bloc of peasant delegates is still under the influence of the intellectuals; but the intellectuals are themselves moving forward under mass pressure. The decisive influence of such pressure, the decisive role of the world proletariat, one may say, is illustrated by the recent adventures of Jawaharlal Nehru. After Munich and the fall of the Spanish republic, he fell into a depression, withdrew from politics, and went traveling. On his travels he visited China and followed the course of world affairs. Encouraged by the resoluteness of the Chinese people and by the firmness of the Soviet working class as manifested by its independent foreign policy, he came home with renewed enthusiasm. Declaring that this was no time for pessimism, he joined the nationwide resistance to war involvement and later publicly supported the policy of the Soviet Union with respect to Finland. On the other hand, what Nehru will do when things get hot for Britain in Europe remains to be seen.

Information concerning the recent Ramgarh Congress is still very scant, for which the censorship is no doubt largely responsible. Opposition to Gandhi by Subhas Chandra Bose must be taken with reserve as reported by the press, for Bose is a demagogue who has written often in praise of Mussolini. He is now reported to be repeating a previous call for "a combination of fascism and Communism."

Since the end of the Congress Gandhi is reported as giving assurances that he does not intend to "embarrass" the rulers of the British empire by seizing upon their present delicate situation to press Indian demands. While the American press cheers this decision because a civil disobedience movement "so long postponed may never arrive," there is nothing new in Gandhi's position. It was foreshadowed at the Congress, and though Nehru seems to have supported it, it is entirely unnecessary to suppose that Gandhi's will to surrender will outweigh the masses' will to struggle. Non-cooperation has begun and civil disobedience in the form of strikes and no-tax campaigns is spreading under a leadership that does not wait for Gandhi: the proletarian and peasant organizations. Nor will the spread of the war to Holland and Belgium convince the Indian people that they must drop their struggles for their own freedom and rush in to save British "democracy" from German imperialism. They see—with less difficulty than we experience—that their hope for rice and freedom lies in the end of all imperialism.

MARION GREENSPAN.

"Socialists" Expel Socialist

D. N. PRITT, the prominent British attorney and Labor MP for North Hammersmith, has been expelled from his party by its National Executive. The vote was seventeen to three; the reason was presumably Pritt's activities in behalf of friendship with the USSR, and the opinions expressed in his two recent Penguin books: *Light on Moscow* and *Must the War Spread?* Said Pritt after the expulsion:

It means no difference to my intention to go on advocating socialism, which I consider to be the function of the Labor Party, and of myself. I do not consider that I have departed in any way from the policy which I was elected to support. I shall continue to attend to my duties as MP.

Says Who?

SIR FREDERICK WHYTE, director of the American Division of the Ministry of Information, told the British North American Luncheon Club, Tuesday, May 14, that Britain's attitude toward the trend of events in the United States might be summarized as follows: "Hold our tongues, hope for the best, and preserve our patience in the belief that in the last resort the United States will be standing where we want them."

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If Lincoln Looked at Illinois Today

One out of seven are on the relief rolls; relief is $8.52 a month. Worst crisis in the state's history. How that affects the political scene. The primary results and prospects.

Chicago

A PUNGENT prairie wind is sifting again through the plains of Illinois. It is a war year, an election year, and a feeling of unrest is sweeping Lincoln's state. Over the torn fences where farmers chat and in the parched little towns where miners wait for better days and in the great lopsided heart of the state, Chicago, there is a mounting suspense.

In the shadow of the capitol at Springfield, where troubled Lincoln walks at midnight, the destitute run into the thousands. In that county, one out of every five people depends on public assistance.

This is an average condition in Illinois. It gets worse in many of the downstate counties which grouped together are known as the "shrine of Lincoln." In Pulaski County, where the state wedges into the cotton belt, 55.8 percent of the people exist on public assistance. And the roll call of the mining counties runs: Christian, 23.4 percent; Gallatin, 53.9 percent; Franklin, 36.6 percent; Macoupin, 25.2 percent; Saline, 48 percent. The average relief per person in Illinois these days is $8.52 a month. Relief authorities say it's the worst crisis in the history of the state.

RELIEF CRISIS

For more than half a year, since the last legislature adjourned, there has been a steadily growing demand for a special session to provide more relief funds. Delegations went to see the state authorities. Relief conferences were held in Chicago and downstate, again and again voicing the popular demand for action. Even the city council of Chicago was moved to declare that a crisis existed.

On April 4, five days before the state primary, there issued from the governor's mansion at Springfield a statement that a special session of the legislature would be called. But when the assembly met on April 30 with twelve directives from the governor, relief was nowhere mentioned.

On May 2 a group of Chicago and downstate labor leaders and liberals went to Springfield to find out whether there had been an oversight. Spokesmen for the governor told them plainly that "there is no need for the legislature to take up relief," and besides, "the governor does not want any more controversial issues brought up at this session."

The people elected Gov. Henry Horner on a "humanity" ticket in 1932 and again in 1936. For the last year and a half no one has even seen the gc ·or except the so-called "bedside cabinet" uns his affairs. His mysterious illness h been made a campaign issue. Howeve. s nominally a leader of the state Democra. organization and a power in its political machine.

When the machine dragged out the "Roosevelt and Humanity" slogan again this year in the primary of April 9, the people of Illinois balked. With one out of every seven in the state on the rolls of the destitute, with farm relief cut close to the bone, with the aged forced to subsist on sub-relief levels, the demand was for fare more substantial than a warmed-over motto. The faction-split Democratic and Republican parties both sidestepped the issues in the primary campaign. Social security, peace, and civil liberties went entirely unmentioned. The tragic condition of a million and a quarter people facing starvation was a taboo topic at political meetings.

The reaction of the voters of Illinois, as expressed in the April 9 primary, provides a key to national political trends that have an important bearing on the November elections. Though in previous years the Illinois primary has served as a test of the political blood pressure of the nation, this year the results were carefully played down by the press attached to both old parties. Leaders of these parties, however, recognized a number of disquieting realities. Most ominous was the fact that out of an expected turnout of three million voters, about a million stayed away from the polls. Faced with a choice between the empty programs of both the Republican and Democratic parties, thousands of voters remained confused, undecided, passive. There is no doubt that many of these could be roused by a third party movement based on bread and butter issues and opposition to America's involvement in war. The fact that no movement of this character took organized form

D. Lewis

"How are you going to marry the boss's daughter when you haven't got a boss?"

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in the primary campaign is no reflection on the potential power of this political bombshell.

The Republican Party of Illinois, in which a sinister, dominant figure is Col. Frank Knox, exhibited again its bankruptcy and the lowest form of political opportunism. Its program is strictly designed to capitalize on the misery of the electorate and the shortcomings of Democratic policy. Nevertheless, the Illinois primary showed marked gains for the Republicans. This was especially true in the downstate areas where the rural voters never agreed with the Roosevelt farm program. The national administration's proposed reduction of even these minimum benefits, coupled with the demagogic bid of the Republicans, swung the downstate vote far into the GOP column. The Republican vote topped the Democrats in this section by more than 100,000 as compared with the GOP majority of 32,000 downstate in the 1936 presidential primary.

While Dewey ran unopposed for the Republican presidential nomination, the Democratic voters were faced with Garner as against Roosevelt. The "evil old man" from Texas went down to a crushing defeat, polling only 8 percent of the total presidential votes. Significant was the fact that the combined Garner and Dewey vote nearly equaled the total for Roosevelt. In the state as a whole the Republican vote per precinct increased, while the Democratic vote per precinct dropped.

The Democratic Party of Illinois, which once attracted a great coalition of labor, youth, Negro, and farm voters under a progressive banner, was sharply changed. Echoing the current reactionary trend in the administration's policies, the Illinois Democrats were unable to rally even a semblance of this coalition.

Instead of coming forward again in a leading position, the bulk of the trade unions kept clear of active participation in the primary. On the other hand, not being sufficiently mobilized, the labor movement in the state was unable to play the positive, clarifying role which it did in the 1936 and 1938 campaigns, in which it set the tone, brought forward the issues, and helped determine the results.

Contributing to the weakness of labor's part in the campaign was the fact that Labor's Non-Partisan League in Illinois failed to follow the lead given by John L. Lewis for independent labor action and the rejection of the two old parties. Under pressure from the Levin-Bialis needle trades group, which is the local edition of the Dubinsky-Hillman crowd, state leaders of LNPL voted a blanket endorsement to the administration. Any people's movement in Illinois will have to reckon with these Social Democratic leaders who become instruments of the Roosevelt drive toward war.

Labor's political strength was indicated in several of the congressional contests in which sweeping victories were won by Reps. McKeough, Fries, and Sabath, who opposed the Dies witch hunt and faced a Red-baiting barrage in the primary campaign. Another healthy indicator was the drubbing handed to Ralph E. Church and Richard Lyons, GOP candidates for senator and governor, who distinguished themselves by their anti-Red fulminations.

Playing an active role in the primary, the Communist Party of Illinois served to clear the air of many of the false issues and the name-calling which passed between the faction-torn camps of the two old parties. Communists prepared to place a full state slate on the ballot in November, stressing the issues of jobs, social security, civil liberties, and peace.

The coming months may provide the evidence that in 1940 Illinois is again taking the Lincoln path of 1856—the road to a third party. For it was during the hot summer weeks of that year, "as the corn was growing knee-high and then shoulder-high," that the young and lusty Republican Party was born out of the major issue of the day: the struggle against the slave power. It was in Illinois, at the tiny state convention at Bloomington in May 1856, that the tone was set for the great Republican national convention in Philadelphia a month later.

It was under Lincoln's leadership that the Bloomington convention resolved that

> when parties become subversive of the ends for which they are established . . . it is the right and duty of the people to dissolve them . . . and to organize new parties upon such principles and with such views as the circumstances and the exigencies of the nation may demand.

Lincoln's third party arose to fulfill a pressing and deep-going need, challenging the split Democratic Party and the senile Whig Party of the day. The robust Lincoln tradition in Illinois still lives after eighty years. The rise of the war party to the saddle in which the slave power rode in 1856 can rekindle the people's movement and create a new people's party.

THIRD PARTY PROSPECT

The basis for a third party movement today certainly rests on a much more stable coalition than that which supported the program of the Republican Party of 1856. Today a powerful labor movement is its natural keystone, and the trade unions are already deeply involved in a political struggle to maintain themselves. The fight for jobs and peace can weld around this core the unemployed of the state, the youth and the aged, the farmers and the Negro people.

In a new day, Lincoln's words still echo across the prairie state. At Springfield in 1858 he described the forging of the new party:

> We did this under the single impulse of resistance to a common danger, with every external circumstance against us. Of strange, discordant, and even hostile elements we gathered from the four winds and formed and fought the battle through, under the constant hot fire of a disciplined, proud, and pampered enemy. . . . We shall not fail—if we stand firm, we shall not fail . . . sooner or later, the victory is sure to come.

CARL HARRIS.

Mellon Melodies

THE Aluminum Co. of America, the juiciest melon of the Mellon family, is one of the world's greatest single monopolies. Labor Research Association has just completed a thorough investigation of this company. Among other things, LRA shows that the purchaser of *one share* in the company's stock in 1904 would have received a 79,000 percent return in thirty-six years. This common stockholder would have received his money back 790 times since 1904, or at the rate of *twenty-four times* a year. On the basis of an investment of $100 in *one share* of stock in 1904, the investor would have received $9,503 in cash dividends, $69,517 in securities, split-ups, and exchanges. Since the members of the Mellon family own thousands of shares of stock, some of them undoubtedly since 1904, one can only imagine how juicy their slice has been from the company profits. During the sixteen years since 1924, the Aluminum Co. of America has weathered the severest economic crisis in history with average profits of $15,500,000 per year. Only in 1932 did this company show a deficit, and twice since then its returns have topped the banner ye of 1929.

Florida's Joads

MIGRATORY farm workers of Florida are concentrated around the citrus belt and the vegetable-growing muckland of the Everglades. Theoretically earning 15 cents an hour, the migrants work twelve to sixteen hours daily, often seven days a week, seldom get paid for more than eight hours a day. Late freezes, total damage $6,000,000, made matters much worse. The WPA administrator decided that "few of the migrants have been in the state long enough to be eligible for WPA employment." Recently the State Bureau of Sanitation ventured into the territory, plastered condemnation notices on more than five hundred dwellings, threatened evictions after April 16. Conditions were described as "the filthiest, most unsanitary" ever seen.

By April 18 fifty-nine white families were able to move into a camp constructed by the Farm Security Administration, which will eventually accommodate 176 families. A Negro camp, with 358 units, is said to be nearing completion. Total accommodation in the migratory camps, 2,250. Total migrants, twenty thousand. If the remaining 17,750 migrants are forcibly evicted from their "filthy, unsanitary" homes they'll have to sleep in the muck or take to the trees. Maybe they'll be "saved" by the men to whom they pay ren the owners of the wretched shacks, who trie o prevent construction of even the two camps that were built by the Farm Security Administration.

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Tonight Is Part of the Struggle

One of the best of Meridel LeSueur's moving short stories. An American family goes to a meeting you will recognize.

THAT afternoon she thought of the bright half-spring sunshine and people coming from the relief walking slow in the half cold half heat of March. In the afternoon so many men without jobs and the dirty snow on the ground. She had walked slowly along with the men and women, carrying Dave wrapped in a pink blanket and sometimes a woman stopped and lifted down the blanket and looked at the tiny head and said what is his name? She lowered her lids over her thin cheeks, I better not act proud because this is the depression, I haven't a right to have a baby that's what they say, so she would try to look like an old stick try to seem dry and brittle like old women, try to cover up her thin gold hair and make out like the baby bundle was a sack, some kind of old clothes maybe she had just gotten from the welfare and wrapped it up. But when she turned the corner and the sun blazed down as if lifting her, gee whiz, Jesus Christ it's a baby and she felt the curve of new legs, the weak head falling against her, the pushing mouth . . . but we can't give milk or cream or wheat you better nurse him as long as you can it's the cheapest food anyway, it's a law now anyway you have to nurse your baby but with worry the milk goes and you have to be thinking at two o'clock, I've got to have milk, at six o'clock I've got to have milk, at six in the morning, at ten at two at six again I've got to have milk. Drink a lot of water, drink hot tea, that is good, Mrs. Ellgerty says, that is excellent.

If they only had somewhere to go at night, to get out of that awful room with the baby sleeping in a cracker box on the table and no place to go to get away from Jock and nowhere for him to go but out to get drunk if he could.

She had to go through an alley, through an old carriage arch that wasn't ever used now since the old mansion had become a boarding and rooming house and all the occupants on relief. She went up the dirty black alley and into the back door which led directly into their room. It must have been the kitchen of the mansion once. It was one room with a gas plate, a brass bed, one rocker, and a table. Jock was sitting in his old socks reading the evening paper that he picked up from the next door before they got around to reading it. You couldn't get used to seeing him it gave you a start to see him home at four o'clock and you got mad seeing him sitting there . . . for Christ's sake, Jock change the baby if you ain't got nothing better to do.

He saw her getting thinner, he saw her breasts, the peak of her dress wet from the watery milk. It made his guts ache.

He threw down the paper, he spit on the floor. She screamed. "Don't you dare spit on the floor when I broke my back cleaning it this morning." The baby started in her arms almost as if still in her. She laid it down as if she had been burned. She laid it on the table with the relief order.

"A fine Mrs. I have," Jock said, "can't get back in time."

"Go sit on your ass," she said and took off her terrible hat so her hair shot around her face. "I am pretty, I am pretty, Jesus, Jesus I am pretty. O Jock, look and see! I'm pretty as Joan Crawford. . . ."

She had to get something to eat with him looking at her, hate screwing into her back.

He couldn't go into any room. There wasn't any other room.

Pretty soon he said, "It's snowing, Leah, it's snowing."

She looked at him.

"I see by the papers," he said, "there is going to be a mass meeting."

"A what?" she said.

"A circus, you nut, a mass meeting."

"You might talk as if I'm a lady," she said.

"Oh yeah?" he said, "parading all afternoon like any moll."

"Shut up," she said.

"Are you cooking prunes again, Jesus God, prunes, what do they think we are?"

"Listen," she said, sitting down to nurse the baby, holding out the big white globe of breast. Jesus, he thought, how can a little thing like that have such fine cow's breasts, for a kid, who'd have thought it.

"Listen," she said, "can't we go somewheres tonight? Every night is just like every other. A girl wants to have a little fun. I don't never have a bit of fun since the baby came."

"Sure, Madam," he said, "Mrs. Rockefeller, I'll take you to the opera tonight being as how on account of I got a car-token that is just enough to get me down to the relief office tomorrow."

"Tonight is just like every other night," she said, "I got to get outen here. We might take a walk."

"We might take a walk," he said, "in the fine March wind, fine for the brat."

Aime

She laid the baby in the cracker box, letting his white fine head down easy off her thin arm. He let his arms wave as if signaling to someone not in the room. It was silent, outside the snow was falling. Somebody began to holler upstairs. She looked at Jock. He sat helpless looking at his hands. You could hear the sour sounds of people scurrying upstairs like lonely rats. The baby kept signaling. You could just see his hands over the side of the box. Outside the snow was falling as if speaking against the window, saying something.

"Do you suppose," Leah said, "that it is snowing everywhere?"

He looked at her, the things women said, how in hell should I know am I supposed to know where it is snowing.

She began to cry softly as if she were alone in the room. It made him nervous. "Listen," he said, "why don't we go to that mass meeting at the auditorium?"

"I don't know what a mass meeting is," she said.

"Well, the auditorium is only one block away and it will be good and warm there and we'll see some people."

"Oh, will there be people there?" she stood up. "Oh look look, Jock, I can wrap him right up, he won't wake up he won't even know and we can take turns carrying him."

"Ok," he said, putting on his three year old coat.

"Listen," she said, "you wear the sweater under the coat, the wind is nippy."

"For Christ's sake, shut up, put it on yourself."

While they wrapped up the baby, he mumbled on: "Put on the sweater yourself, that's what I say, that's the trouble with women always telling men what they ought to do, make saps out of 'em."

Outside in the dark alley the snow was falling softly and when they got out on the street being only one block from the auditorium, the hurrying people began to swell around them, caught them up in many powerful streamlets pouring into the main street toward the block-long building. The snow made a speed in the air, the people hurrying made another speed, men walking with women, bunches of men hunched over, blowing fiercely and darkly along in the wind together. Jock took her arm and she bent over the baby and they were caught up in a group entering the wide door with the wind blowing against them, all their bodies hunched the same way. They fell inside the building without the wind and as in a bas relief intent faces climbed swiftly up the ramp.

Jock said, "I was here once at a walkathon and it's nuts sitting downstairs, you gotta sit upstairs and then you can see downstairs."

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Leah clutched the baby and climbed, it pulled her down in front to carry him. They came out on a giant shell a block long and they sat down on the side and already below was a vast ocean of dark people, and the sides of the shell were filling rapidly, people pouring in swift black rivulets.

They found a seat half way down and she laid Dave on her knees. It was warm, people were all around them. "Jeez," Jock said, "this is going to be a lousy bum show."

"Shut up," Leah said, "it's warm anyhow, so many people make it warm anyway."

Men and women kept coming down the aisles, a heavy woman walked slowly. She was pregnant, her slow feet, searching only for food and shelter, broken on the flesh loom of childbed, at stove, at work. Below the dark clothes the veins were burst, erupted like the earth's skin, split by the terrible ax of birth. Leah shuddered. I will get like that. She shifted Dave so his feet dug into her empty stomach. "Sit still," Jock said, "do you want to go?"

A man was talking. She was afraid he would wake Dave but he slept without stirring, his head falling back a little and his mouth open. She didn't listen to the words very much, she looked at men's bodies, they always told her something.

"LISTEN," a man was saying, and she leaned back but his voice kept striking in every part of her. "TONIGHT IS PART OF THE STRUGGLE." He began to tell about things she knew about, how they were hungry, how they could not get jobs, how they must fight together. Jock looked at her and he also knew it was spoken to them. She leaned forward shoulder with Jock to look at the man. He spoke in a very precise speech, was it Scandinavian, Finnish like her father who had been a carpenter, very gentle and precise speech. She couldn't see him very well, he must have been half a block away, but his voice coming out of the delicate shell of his body, and the words made her think of the iron range on the Mesaba where she was born.

"Who is he?" she asked and the man next her said, "That's Tiala."

"Tiala?" she said.

The man next her said, "It's snowing fierce outside now. Tiala is the district organizer for the Communist Party."

"Two years ago," he was saying, and the voice came large through the horns and now all the dark bodies were straining forward, "two years ago we had hunger marches, the seed we planted two years ago takes root now." He talked in terms of growing, of yeast in bread, she could understand yeast and seed, it excited her.

"The rank and file," he said, "the masses." She looked down on the great black sea of bodies, heads like black wheat growing in the same soil, the same wind. Something seemed to enter her and congeal. I am part, she wanted to say.

The voice was coming into them. You are producers, wealth is produced by hand and brain. I am a producer, she thought with her hand on the protruding belly of the baby, but not from hand and brain. She thought she was going to cry and Jock would kick her in the shins and yell at her when they got home. She heard only some of the words, the ones that her body's experience repeated to her, the class struggle, militant workers, the broad masses. They were like words in the first primer, gigantic, meaningless, but she leaned over with the others, to see, to hear, to touch, make real, make the lips form on them.

They no longer thought of going. Something seemed to have broken behind Jock's eyes, some hard thing and he looked frightened and open. It was like when you went home after a long hard trip. She wanted to cry down, "O Tiala, we are hungry, we are lonely, we are lonely and hungry. It's dark, and the snow is falling in March and the night is wide for Jock and me and we might get old without . . . O Tiala . . ."

No one could say a word. They all sat like a great black rock. Then suddenly the man on the platform seemed to ask a question and without warning the great body moved, hands lifted, mouths opened together and rising suddenly, lifted by storm and cataclysm, wind and the earth's eruption, the black body rose, lifted high, a black tide crest of hands, faces, shoulders, like erupted tree roots, black labor root erupted, rising black tide of labor bodies in a thick volcanic tide and there was a roar of flesh, roar of hands of a high key like a body of water on cliff sides, then, from man throat, from rocky Adam's apple, from chests deep with lifting, building, riveting there rose a terrible, a great manroar . . .

AYE. AYE. AYE.

The new flesh between her hands jerked as if lassoed, the breath caught in the thin ribs, the baby's face got red as when he was born, the nostrils shot open as if the noisy air was too much to breathe. At the last AYE, it lifted its head, struggled, and let out a bawl of rebellion, wonder, amazement and the young body cry topped the others, and faces turned seeing the pink blanket and there was a great laughter as they saw the tiny white head as Leah had lifted it from the choking and held it on her shoulder, the tiny white head like a dandelion top in spring sprouting there amongst the black froth of men from the tool and dye, carpenters' unions, truck drivers, tobacco workers, stockyard workers, and there the dandelion-top new bright head as if just emerged and Leah hid her face behind Jock's shoulder and he wriggled trying to show it wasn't him and then he laughed and his ears were red and he put his big hand that was good on the Ford factory belt on the bright tiny head and his eyes said Leah, like when he wooed her.

The speaker was saying then, ". . . so Monday you must all be down to march to the capital to demand security for the workers. Bring your children . . ."

She and Jock looked at each other. They had something to do now for Monday. She felt close packed with the others as if they were all running forward together. Outside the snow was falling in the heavy March darkness and the thick mass would move and spread, explode like black projectiles from their strength . . .

And the speaker lifted his right hand straight up and he said in a loud precise and clear voice and she felt the strong taut thigh of Jock tensing next her and saw his knuckles white on his clenched fist . . . "LISTEN," Tiala was saying, "FELLOW WORKERS, REMEMBER, DON'T FORGET. EVERY HOUR, EVERY NIGHT AND TONIGHT IS PART OF THE STRUGGLE."

MERIDEL LESUEUR.

This story by Miss LeSueur is reprinted from her book, "Salute to Spring," just published by International.

LaGuardia's Blitzkrieg

SHORTLY after the outbreak of the European war Mayor LaGuardia told the AFL convention in Cincinnati that labor had nothing to gain from the war; it had not been consulted at the start of the conflict and would not be consulted about its end. But that was before his honor had discovered which way it would be expedient for him to jump. He did not tarry long. The Roosevelt bugle blew, and Fiorello LaGuardia clicked his heels, snapped to attention and began talking and acting as if City Hall were Verdun. Soon he launched a blitzkrieg against the teachers and various city employees and began a flanking movement against the 5-cent fare. With Roosevelt and Hoover directing his foreign policy, all the mayor needs is to appoint Jimmy Walker deputy mayor and he will be free to campaign in Arizona, Oregon, and the Dutch East Indies for the vice presidential nomination on either party ticket.

The latest victims of the LaGuardia blitzkrieg are Mrs. Ethel Epstein, his labor adviser, and Clifford T. McAvoy, second deputy commissioner of welfare. They committed lese majeste by hanging on to their liberalism when their boss dropped his. They join other recent victims: Nathan Frankel, James M. Kieran, Clendenin J. Ryan, and Mrs. Mitzi Somach. The New York *World-Telegram* of May 15 put it succinctly:

> In municipal circles today it was accepted that the mayor's dropping of his former close associates, including Mrs. Epstein and Mr. McAvoy, is a manifestation of his recent swing to the right, possibly in view of the coming national campaign.

The mayor's ideas for retailoring his staff are indicated by his appointment, as one of his secretaries, of David Rockefeller, Standard Oil's contribution to liberalism.

On the 5-cent fare front LaGuardia has joined hands with John H. Delaney, Tammany head of the Board of Transportation, to put over a transit unification plan which will eventually give New York's nickel fare the coup de grace. All in all, LaGuardia looks like an ideal candidate for the Republican and/or Democratic Party.

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NEW MASSES
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Associate Editors
JAMES DUGAN, BARBARA GILES.

Business Manager CARL BRISTEL.
West Coast Representative GEORGE WILLNER.

★

War Economy

WITH his special message to Congress President Roosevelt opened a new stage in the economic life of the country. From now on American economy is to be increasingly dominated by production for war to which all useful production is to be subordinated—after the fascist model. "Auto Industry Ready to Make Arms, If Needed," "Steel Mills Ready to Push Arms Plan"—these were some of the headlines after Roosevelt spoke. With the new billion-dollar arms fund, plus the two billions already appropriated, more than one-third of the government budget will be devoted to the army, navy, and air corps. This, however, gives only a small inkling of the extent to which the nation's economy is being geared to war.

The European conflict has already produced important dislocations in our foreign trade. While exports increased 52.8 percent in the first quarter of 1940 over the same period in 1939, this increase had many bumps and ruts in it. Farm exports, with the exception of cotton, continued to be sharply curtailed, exports of passenger automobiles declined 31 percent, typewriter exports dropped 24 percent, and lumber shipments decreased 21 percent. The prospect of further declines as a result of the spread of the war resulted last week in a sharp break in the wheat market. The export gains were made in such commodities as iron and steel, non-ferrous metals, aircraft, and metal-working machinery—in other words, in products for the Allied war machine. In April, however, despite continued heavy Allied buying of war materials, total exports to all countries were reduced 8 percent. This may presage further declines.

Foreign trade having failed to provide the expected boom, the Roosevelt administration is now raising hopes that the arms program will create large numbers of jobs and help pull capitalism out of crisis. But the *Wall Street Journal* warns against exaggerating the stimulus of the arms program. Big business, moreover, is placing its patriotism on a solid dollar foundation. President Roosevelt told his press conference that the RFC would provide funds for expanding war production and that the government might itself build plants and turn them over to industry for private operation. In other words, while relief for the unemployed has been cut (they numbered 11,577,000 in March, according to the CIO), "relief" for big business is being increased. The people's share in this armaments prosperity is indicated in an NY *Herald Tribune* editorial:

> Part of the new costs must be taken up by economies. The rest must be raised by the people of the United States. Large scale military preparedness means in essence demanding from the people a vast additional effort for which they will never be paid. On balance, this effort must be given gratis because it produces nothing with which to make payment—nothing but guns and battleships and airplanes which are economically useless.

War on the Unemployed

THERE'S a feeling in Washington against fattening people before slaughter. As Congress began its preparation to slam through the President's $3,000,000,000 army and navy fund, a relief bill of about one-third that amount was reported by the House Appropriations Committee. It is as bad as was expected. The committee acceded to Roosevelt's tricky request that he be permitted to spend $975,000,000, or less, on WPA in eight months instead of twelve; but it limited WPA employment for the five campaign months to "normal" averages. At the most this bill would provide work for only two million people—a million less than WPA employed in the 1939 fiscal year and *ten million less* than America's total number of jobless. The bill continues the hateful eighteen-month clause and the Woodrum amendment barring deficiency appropriations, as well as the elimination of prevailing wages.

Not by accident was the bill reported along with an "investigating" subcommittee's hair-raising charges of fraud, corruption, and radicalism on WPA. Two results were intended: to justify the miserly relief estimate and to further the Hatch bill's extension against "pernicious political activities" of state employees paid wholly or in part out of federal money. The administration won't find it hard to apply "pernicious" to any WPA worker's activity against war and lower living standards.

The entire relief bill recommended by the Appropriations Committee amounts to $1,111,754,916, which is a half-billion less than current appropriations. Twenty-eight million dollars was cut from the Farm Security Administration fund, while government experts were testifying to the La Follette committee on the savage destitution of America's agricultural workers. Indeed, bigtime editors hinted to Roosevelt that he might well veto the farm parity-payment funds which got by the House just before the war dance started. If relief is to be thrown into the flames, why not farm benefits? Why not social security? Why not the Slum-Clearance Bill, which is still buried deep in the House Banking and Currency Committee? We can't afford these things now, say the war enthusiasts. Of course when it comes to three billions for the army and navy, money is no consideration—as long as it can be taken from the people's living standards.

Those gentlemen who are talking so glibly through their brass hats may soon discover that sacrificing people isn't that easy. The vigorous campaign waged under the leadership of the Workers Alliance and CIO in support of the Marcantonio and Casey bills to provide three million WPA jobs was just one indication of the gathering resistance in defense of human needs.

—and on the Employed

IN THEIR efforts to scalp labor, the war dancers have reached the point of frenzy. First they plan to nullify the Walsh-Healey act, requiring firms that hold government contracts of $10,000 or more to observe prevailing wages and hours. The administration is afraid the law will hinder production of war supplies—and why annoy the war industrialists with wage and hour rules when you are trying to encourage them by removing profit restrictions? Bills to "relax" this act *and* the Wage-Hour law are already being considered by the House Naval Affairs Committee. Just in case they fail of passage, the administration can do its own amending by granting further exemptions from the Wage-Hour measure; eighteen such were granted just last week.

Next, it is planned to deprive labor of its legal rights by:

1. Adopting Attorney General Jackson's recommendation that unions be excluded from the National Labor Relations Board's hearings.
2. Either amending the Wagner act in the interest of employers or changing the board's personnel to provide an employer-minded majority.
3. Possibly passing the Walter-Logan bill, which would give the courts power to review board decisions.
4. Extending Thurman Arnold's assaults on unions through "anti-trust" prosecutions.
5. Jailing or deporting militant trade union leaders.

The last named strategy is a particularly nasty sort of business. Not content with using the Sherman act to frame Ben Gold and other union leaders, US Attorney John Cahill has had them indicted on charges of "conspiracy to obstruct justice." Mr. Cahill, it seems, has "investigated" and found that Gold and his associates tried to "influence witnesses" during the trial. The day after the furriers were indicted the House Immigration Committee approved a bill to deport Harry Bridges, Australian-born West Coast CIO leader. This unprecedented measure was described by its author, Rep. A. Leonard Allen of Louisiana, as "a new and untried route to rid the United States of alien enemies within." Dean Landis' recent report that Bridges is not a Communist means nothing to Mr. Allen. Pending are other bills—scores of them—tagged "anti-alien" but actually anti-labor. In fact the President is also doing his bit toward incitement against the foreign born. Through Stephen Early, White House secretary, he has let it be known that the telegrams received in opposition to his national defense speech were signed with "foreign names." It's hardly a secret that these things are being done in preparation for M-Day. That is why the anti-labor thermite bombs are falling so fast in Washington.

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Two-Party Harmony

BACK in the days when the fires of the New Deal still burned bright in the White House, Marquis Childs wrote a sensational article, "They Hate Roosevelt." The "they" referred to the gentlemen of the well stocked clubs and tickertape souls. It is time for Mr. Childs to write a new article: "They Love Roosevelt"—the "they" referring to the same aforementioned gentlemen. Wall Street lost the 1936 presidential election, but has won the President. When Dorothy Thompson the other day urged the Republican Party to nominate no presidential candidate but to support a third term for Roosevelt, she dramatically underscored the collapse of the New Deal and the fusion of Republicans and Democrats into a new reactionary coalition.

Consider the applauders of Roosevelt's war-promoting message to Congress: Hoover, Landon, Knox, Dewey, Taft, Willkie. They are big business incarnate, those who in the past fought every New Deal reform. There is talk of a coalition cabinet, with Knox—Hearst's former general manager—becoming secretary of the navy. They call it "national unity." It is unity *against* the nation, unity of the government with the profiteers, the Liberty Leaguers, the fascist-minded men of wealth —unity for war.

The same kind of unity is being duplicated within the Democratic Party itself. Ex-New Dealers and tory Democrats now sing two-part harmony. What has happened to the Garner "boom" and the Farley "boom" and the McNutt "boom"? Their candidacies are about as booming as a wet firecracker. Last week Garner practically dropped out of the race when he told some of his colleagues that Roosevelt was certain to be nominated. Why should the "labor-baiting, evil old man" run when FDR has taken over his whole program? The sparring matches will continue, of course; the Roosevelt administration will haggle over just how much of the Wage-Hour law, the Walsh-Healey act, the National Labor Relations Act should be dumped down the rat hole, over whether or not a commission should be appointed to coordinate war preparations. But these are lovers' quarrels. For the economic royalists, for the merchants of death, happy days are here again.

Real National Unity

AMERICA needs real national unity—against the warmakers. The voices are rising, voices that speak for peace. They rise from the trade unions, from church groups, from the youth, from teachers and men of science. The war drums beating in the press and radio cannot silence them. Only a few days after President Roosevelt's message to Congress five hundred leading scientists, including two Nobel Prize winners, signed a petition to the President urging that the United States keep out of war. The petition was forwarded with an open letter by Dr. Anton J. Carlson, national president of the American Association of Scientific Workers and professor of physiology at the University of Chicago. During the last week alone, among the organizations which took a stand for peace, many of them directly opposing the President's course, were the following:

The New York College Teachers Union (AFL); Chicago College Teachers Union (AFL); Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO); National Women's Conference on Unemployment; Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs; thirty-seven members of the Lafayette College faculty; New York Peace Association; 112 employees of the Morley Machine Co., Astoria, L. I.; Local 65, Wholesale and Warehouse Workers of America (CIO); Maritime Federation of the Pacific; 1,008 Dartmouth students; three hundred Harvard students; Local 100, International Ladies Garment Workers Union (Chicago); Student Commission of Temple University; New York City Council of American Youth Congress; Chicago Council of American Youth Congress; Utah Knights of Pythias; seven hundred employees of Bohn Aluminum Co., Detroit; emergency peace conference of two hundred civic, labor, and church leaders in Washington, D. C.; New York East Conference of the Methodist Church; Commission on International Justice and Good Will of Brooklyn Church and Mission Federation.

Manning the Cannon

BISHOP WILLIAM T. MANNING of New York, who charged that Bertrand Russell was morally unfit to teach young people, is using his authority as a minister of God to send young men to war. True, the bishop claims he is not for military participation—yet. But his clamor for every other kind of assistance to the Allies, his onesided denunciations of Germany, his sneers at "ultra-pacifists," and talk of "Christian duty" leave little to the imagination. Besides, the bishop has donned the brass hat before, in 1917. Members of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of New York might remember *that* "Christian crusade" and its aftermath as they watch their spiritual leader resume his old role today.

Bishop James Cannon, Jr., has come out of a kindly obscurity to urge Secretary Hull to declare war on Germany in the name of Christianity. Notre Dame University last week bestowed its Laetare Medal, given annually to an outstanding Roman Catholic, on General Drum of New York, whose name becomes more appropriate every time he speaks. The presentation was made by New York's Archbishop Spellman. Addressing the convention of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Albany, N. Y., Bishop G. Ashton Oldham declared that the word neutrality was "abhorrent," isolation "a dangerous anachronism," and the slogan "Keep out of War" was devoid of all ethical content. Other bishops, and Rabbi Stephen Wise of New York, are furthering the interventionist cause by serving on William Allen White's "Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies."

In contrast to these men's debasement of their spiritual office, the New York East Conference of the Methodist Church has flatly denounced war as "inconsistent with the . . . Kingdom of God." The Clermont County (Ohio) Ministerial Association, whose membership embraces pastors of Methodist, Baptist, Congregational, Christian, Nazarene, Presbyterian, and Episcopal churches, states in its peace resolution that "We desire no part in a 'holy war' to save 'Christian civilization.'" From the pulpit Rev. Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick of New York described war as "the summation of evil, the chief foe of democracy, of human culture, of spiritual value, of all decent hopes." More such pulpit voices are needed. We have, as in the last war, only too many Mannings and Cannons who give spiritual sanction to a military enterprise in which spiritual values will be one of the first sacrifices.

Canada's Communists

CANADA'S rulers, like France's, find anti-fascists a very trying element in time of "anti-fascist" war. The Communist Party of Canada has been outlawed (the second time this decade), after three of its Ottawa leaders—Harry Binder, Louis Binder, and Arthur Saunders—were sentenced to prison and heavily fined for distributing an anti-war manifesto. No fascist group has yet been outlawed in Canada. Premier King's sadly named Liberal government started gunning for the Communists and all other peace advocates some months ago through the Defense of Canada Regulations, which make it a crime to "obstruct war efforts." During the election campaign in March the regulations were amended to permit the outlawing of a whole organization if one of its members was found guilty of such "obstruction." The Ottawa trial and conviction furnished the government with a pretext for driving the Communist Party underground.

Premier King may well feel that he cannot afford the existence of a militant opposition in Canada. Hostility to the war budget, to the widespread banning of progressive periodicals and attacks on civil liberties, expresses itself in strikes that challenge the whole war setup. One of NEW MASSES' readers in Canada writes us that "The government is becoming seriously concerned with the situation within the armed forces. . . . Old officers complain that there is no spirit of elan, no *esprit de guerre*." Our correspondent relates that over a hundred Canadian soldiers in uniform recently joined the picket-line of a strikebound plant of the Consumers Glass Co. in Montreal and led the mass of workers who stormed the plant to clean out scabs. "Practically everybody," the writer states, "feels that the people have been betrayed somehow. Spain is being discussed also and one feels a growing realization that had Chamberlain not sold Spain to the Nazis the present threatening debacle could never have occurred."

Dissatisfaction with the Canadian government's conduct of the war is reported in the pro-Allied press here, which even hints at the grumbling over the war itself. Premier King's answer to this discontent is to suppress the party that leads all Canadian groups in the fight for peace. "The Royal Canadian Mounted Police," says our Canadian reader,

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"is reported to be poised for a nationwide swoop upon every known and suspected Communist." It is well known that any government begins a general terror campaign by persecuting Communists. Will the American defenders of Britain's "democracy" please consider the picture of democracy presented by Britain's dominion of Canada?

Military View

THE dominating military fact of the German advance, which so impressively overwhelmed Holland and the larger part of Belgium within five days, is the salient into northeastern France. This salient was created by the breakthrough at Sedan, where the Maginot Line proper joins the relatively light field fortifications along the Belgian-French frontier. The Germans were thereby able to take Antwerp and roll back large Belgian and British forces toward the Channel. At the same time the Paris area and the region around Reims were badly exposed. Soviet experts point out that an offensive through Reims, due south of Sedan, would threaten to cut off the Maginot Line from the rear. This seems to have been realized by the French, who are reported to be counterattacking on this point, the German left flank. But the effect is only to divert the German drive north of Paris and toward the Channel ports.

There's no doubt that the Germans are in a very great hurry. Their lines have been greatly extended, their motorized divisions must be refueled, there is much mopping up to be done in the rear. If the Germans sideswipe the main French armies in their advance to the Channel ports, they will have to defend their flanks against a French assault anywhere along the Belgian frontier, bringing into play hundreds of thousands of men. And if they reach the Channel ports, do they, as Prime Minister Churchill's address last Sunday implies, really intend to bomb Great Britain? It is too early to answer that question. Bombardments of Britain are one thing, large scale troop landings on British soil are quite another. And if the Nazis aim to isolate France from her ally, and bring pressure for a separate peace, it is difficult to see how that could be done before engaging and decisively defeating the main French armies. Hitler is watching Roosevelt. Both of them are in a very great hurry. The Germans appear confident of their ability to win a short war. Can they do the same in a long one?

French Shift

CHURCHILL'S speech last Sunday expressed considerable worry over a German bid for separate peace with France. Within France itself important shifts have taken place, the most dramatic of which is the replacement of Gen. Maurice Gamelin by Maxime Weygand. Apparently there is sharp disagreement over strategy in the Allied command which has been intensified by the German wedge between the main French and Allied forces. Generals like to take credit for success and always seek to blame defeats on others. The appointment of Marshal Petain to the vice premiership is largely symbolic; he was the so-called hero of Verdun. All of these military men are advanced in years: Weygand is seventy-three; Gamelin sixty-seven, and Petain already eighty-four. They have a wealth of experience, but are probably trying to win the last war rather than face the new conditions of the present one. Weygand's shift may postpone the development of warfare in the Balkans. That would be really interesting, especially if reports of an Anglo-French decision to cancel out some anti-Soviet irritations have any basis in fact.

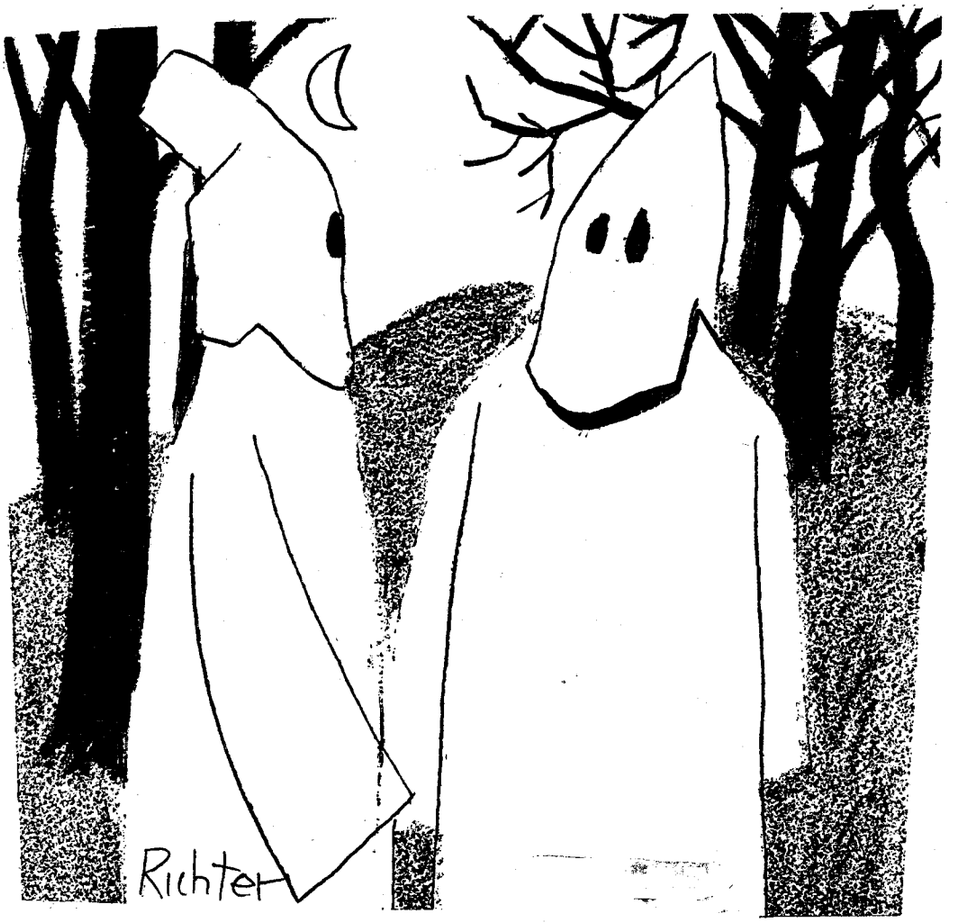
But the appointment of Georges Mandel as minister of interior is even more significant. Mandel, a former Clemenceau aide, is known as a merciless enemy of the working class. His elevation would indicate an increasingly fragile internal situation, a rising tide of popular discontent which neither repression nor the chauvinism inspired by the German advance can stem.

Big-Stick Policy

WHEN the White House wants things done these days that can't be broached directly to the American people, it speaks in the name of the twenty-one American republics. Without in any way asking the peoples to the south what they think, Mr. Roosevelt waves the magic wand of hemisphere defense, and it becomes the "big stick" of war preparations against the American people. "Hemisphere policy" is the new euphemism for Yankee imperialism, which becomes more active than ever as the markets in small European neutrals are destroyed, as the area of profitable exploitation narrows.

It seemed for a while last week that the resolution declaring the American hemisphere no longer neutral but simply non-belligerent would be adopted by the twenty-one nations. Jose Cantillo, foreign minister of Argentina, conferred with Norman Armour, American ambassador to Brazil; at the last minute it was decided to limit the declaration to a protest against the German advance in Europe. Actually, of course, the United States, who undoubtedly inspired the resolution, is already a non-belligerent; her neutrality has been nullified by the Roosevelt "short of war" policy. In all the talk of the unity of the Americas, Chile's voice hasn't been heard, and last week President Cardenas clearly took issue with the White House by lambasting *both* the Nazis and the Allies for their joint responsibility in the spread of war.

Since mid-April American newspapers have chanted about what would happen to Greenland and Iceland if Denmark were occupied, or what would happen to the Dutch West Indies and Dutch Guiana if Holland were invaded. As the *Hemisphere,* authoritative



Mischa Richter

"Have you burned any good books lately?"

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Latin American newsletter, points out, the Monroe Doctrine specifically forbids any foreign power to acquire soil in the western hemisphere. But what has happened? Not Germany, but Britain took over Iceland. Greenland's destiny seems to remain a jurisdictional dispute between Canada and Washington. French marines, not German parachutists, were landed in Aruba and Curacao last week. So we have an interesting contradiction: the Allies violate the Monroe Doctrine, but President Roosevelt prepares the country for war to save the Allies in the defense, among other things, of the Monroe Doctrine!

South Pacific Calm

EXTENSION of the war through Holland did not bring the much anticipated changes in the position of the Dutch East Indies. Their local government assumed full control. Diplomatic exchanges took place among Britain, Holland, and Japan, all of them restating the main thought of Mr. Hull's declaration of April 17, namely, the desire of the great powers for status quo in their common imperialist preserve. England and France are in no position to occupy these islands; neither is Germany. Japan's anxiety for a greater share in the exploitation of the islands is well known, but the American fleet stands in the way. The Munitions Control Board figures show that shipments of $830,701 worth of American arms had been licensed for the islands by April 20 of this year. But Japan and the United States are currently engaged in discussions over respective policies, witness the Philippine high commissioner's recent trip to Tokyo. Until these discussions have turned one way or the other, there's not much prospect of change in the South Pacific.

New victories were reported from China last week: the encirclement of Japanese troops at Tsaoyeng in northern Hupeh province with Japan's casualties figured at fifty thousand. Difficulties between the Chinese Communists and reactionary elements in the united front had reached serious proportions by last December, but the April meeting of the National People's Political Council, presided over by Chiang Kai-shek, seems to have ironed them out. Administrative conflicts in the border region, controlled by the Eighth Route Army, are being overcome. The three divisions of that army, heretofore recognized by the central government, will now be increased to six. The army itself will extend its jurisdiction to the anti-Japanese guerrilla centers in Hopei, Chahar, and Shansi. A People's National Congress is being convened for this November when a new democratic constitution will be adopted. Recurrent reports of truce negotiations between Japan and the Chungking government seem to have no basis in fact. Every sign points to the improved relations in the united front, and the intensified will to resistance among China's millions.

Readers' Forum

Freedom of Conscience

TO NEW MASSES: As a friend of Soviet Russia may I make the following suggestion?

After consideration of all angles visible to my mind, I sincerely believe that the Russian government should by all means issue a succinct official statement to the effect that any citizen or resident of that nation may freely and publicly worship his God or Gods; and that counterpropaganda is false.

This of course being calculated to counteract the impression to the contrary constantly being circulated among all peoples by Russia's enemies. . . . *Vide* President Roosevelt's "Christian" (?) appeal just the other day. . . . Mr. Corliss Lamont and, I believe, the Webbs and all other well informed writers confirm my understanding. . . . Some great authority ought also to tell the world that economic democracy (socialism) is *consistent* with political democracy, not at odds with it, as our foes assert!

I realize that you have no "private wire" nor direct contact with Moscow, but perhaps in some way this suggestion could be passed through. Other nations advantageously boast of such things—why should the USSR be subjected to such a malicious cloud of misunderstanding?

HENRY DAVIS.

Philadelphia, Pa.

[You are quite right about NM's not having a "private wire." Perhaps the best public statement of the USSR's attitude to religious worship is contained in its constitution, Article 124, which affirms: "In order to ensure to citizens freedom of conscience, the church in the USSR is separated from the state, and the school from the church. Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious-worship propaganda is recognized for all citizens." As for the consistency of economic and political democracy, Lenin's and Stalin's writings are, of course, full of explanations on this point. Your letter asks the questions that millions are asking, millions who are thinking through the fog of newspaper and radio misrepresentation.—THE EDITORS.]

Wartime England

TO NEW MASSES:—A good many of us here in London cannot find out yet what the fight is about. A few wags have asked how they could tell when victory was achieved, since they were still wondering who won the last war. To which another wag replied, "Doubtless the Ministry of Information will tell us!"

The sign of victory, even the hope of it, has gradually been receding. The early objective of overthrowing Hitler and setting up a *nice* workers' government has been superseded. I once asked one of the proponents of this *nice* workers' government what he meant by the expression. I was informed, in all seriousness, "Oh, a democratic one which would of course have to ask England's advice as to how to govern." Apparently the Conservatives don't think this *nice* workers' government is practical any more. They are out against the *whole German people*. The very idea of polishing off some hundred million persons throws terror into any but the most hardboiled warmakers. Naturally, the others ask, "And how many of us will be annihilated in the process?"

From the very outset, and without the joy of being swept away by a high-sounding slogan, the middle class has been very badly hit. The income tax this year is 7 shillings and sixpence in the pound (equivalent to 37.5 cents per dollar). There has been an immediate reduction in the jobs available for the middle class professional. Take an architect, for instance. Practically the only type of building in progress since last spring has been the construction of air raid shelters. Fortunately the rapid air invasion has not yet taken place, so no rebuilding has been necessitated.

No wonder the middle class expresses the number of jobs available as "scarce as snakes in Ireland." (Of course this class of society does not recognize the modern snake in Ireland's emerald grass.) No wonder that there is "little enthusiasm for the war," and that Scotland Yard has been set on the trail of this very indifference.

Despite the lies about the USSR which the Beaverbrook press never tires of concocting, there are stanch middle class followers of Chamberlain who are willing to admit that the ex-prime minister made his first mistake in not clinching a treaty with the Soviet Union before Germany did. These people have a feeling that the Red Army is a might to be reckoned with.

Every man, woman, child, and animal is registered, just as though they have been taken over by the government along with its control of industries. Even the cats must wear an identification disk and a number around their necks.

The price of food has risen tremendously. During the height of the winter season, when spinach is usually cheap, 40 cents a pound was asked for it. I know one family who bought four ounces for the baby!

The appearance of the streets gives little assurance that the war, even for those who want it and presumably know what it is about, is being prosecuted with efficiency. Some stores are closed and others boarded up with sandbags. The sandbags are now bursting and forming dams across the pavements. It's damnable in every sense of the word.

VERNE LEE.

London, England.

Lesson from World War I

TO NEW MASSES:—Accept my congratulations on the publication of Morris Kamman's extremely timely article in your May 7 issue on American opposition to the first world war.

I recently came across another piece of information along this line. Henry Pringle in his *Life of William Howard Taft* (Vol. 2, p. 907) mentions that Wilson found the opposition to the war so prevalent that he appealed to Taft, the man he had succeeded in the presidency, to tour the country and attempt to counteract the anti-war feeling. Taft explained the genesis of his cannon-fodder recruiting journey in a revealing passage of a letter of January 8, 1918, as due to the fact that "Washington had received disquieting reports . . . as to the attitude of the men who had been drafted, their wish to leave the camps if they could, and their asserted ignorance of why we were in the war."

It is the immediate job of progressives to see to it that American youngsters in the future are not subjected to the spoutings of a Herbert Hoover as to "why we are in the war," but are thoroughly enlightened beforehand as to the causes of the last tragedy and the nature of the financial forces at this moment pushing us ever nearer to the abyss.

HERBERT APTHEKER.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

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REVIEW AND COMMENT

The "Dialectics of Nature"

J. B. S. Haldane writes of Engels' great work. Scientists no longer ignore Marxist ideas. How Engels, student of science, tackled the controversies of his day.

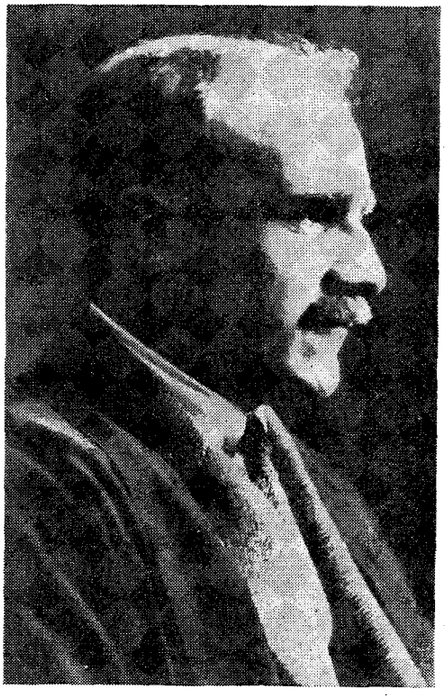
MARXISM has a twofold bearing on science. In the first place Marxists study science among other human activities. They show how the scientific activities of any society depend on its changing needs and so in the long run on its productive methods, and how science changes the productive methods and therefore the whole society. This analysis is needed for any scientific approach to history and even non-Marxists are now accepting parts of it. But secondly Marx and Engels were not content to analyze the changes in society. In dialectics they saw the science of the general laws of change, not only in society and in human thought, but in the external world which is mirrored by human thought. That is to say it can be applied to problems of "pure" science as well as to the social relations of science.

Scientists are becoming familiar with the application of Marxist ideas to the place of science in society. Some accept it in whole or in part, others fight against it vigorously and say that they are pursuing pure knowledge for its own sake. But many of them are unaware that Marxism has any bearing on scientific problems considered out of their relation to society, for example to the problems of tautomerism in chemistry or individuality in biology. And certain Marxists are inclined to regard the study of such scientific and philosophical problems as unimportant. Yet they have before them the example of Lenin. In 1908 the Russian Revolution had failed. It was necessary to build up the revolutionary movement afresh. Lenin saw that this could only be done on a sound theoretical basis. So he wrote *Materialism and Empirio-criticism.* This involved a study, not only of philosophers such as Mach and Pearson, whom he criticized, but of physicists such as Hertz, J. J. Thomson, and Becquerel, whose discoveries could be interpreted from a materialistic or an idealistic point of view. However, Lenin did not attempt to cover the whole of science. He was mainly concerned with the revolution in physics which was then in progress and had little to say on astronomy, geology, chemistry, or biology.

ENGELS: STUDENT OF SCIENCE

But thirty years before Lenin, Engels had tried to discuss the whole of science from a Marxist standpoint. He had always been a student of science. Since 1861 he had been in close touch with the chemist Schorlemmer at Manchester, and had discussed scientific problems with him and Marx for many years. In 1871 he came to London, and started reading scientific books and journals on a large scale. He intended to write a great book to show "that in nature the same dialectical laws of movement are carried out in the confusion of its countless changes as also govern the apparent contingency of events in history." If this book had been written it would have been of immense importance for the development of science.

But apart from political work, other intellectual tasks lay before Engels. Duehring had to be answered, and perhaps *Anti-Duehring,* which covers the whole field of human knowledge, is a greater book than *Dialectics of Nature* would have been had Engels completed it. After Marx's death in 1883, Engels had the gigantic task of editing and completing *Capital,* besides which he wrote *Feuerbach* and *The Origin of the Family.* So *Dialectics of Nature* was never finished. The manuscript consists of four bundles, all in Engels' handwriting, save for a number of quotations from Greek philosophers in that of Marx. Part of the manuscript is ready for publication, though, as we shall see, it would almost certainly have been revised. Much of it merely consists of rough notes, which Engels hoped to work up later. Finally, although the bulk of the manuscript is in German, Engels thought equally well in English and French, and occasionally produced a hybrid sentence, such as *"Wenn Coulomb von* particles of electricity *spricht,* which repel each other inversely as the square of the distance, *so nimmt Thomson das ruhig hin als bewiesen."*



J. B. S. HALDANE, *the distinguished British biologist, has written extensively on science and society from a Marxist point of view. His comment on Engels' "Dialectics of Nature" will appear as a preface to the edition (price: $2.50) which will be issued by International Publishers on June 4. We are presenting this preface in an abridged version. Engels' important work on science is being printed in English for the first time.*

Most of the manuscript seems to have been written between 1872 and 1882, that is to say it refers to the science of sixty years ago. Hence it is often hard to follow if one does not know the history of the scientific practice and theory of that time. The idea of what is now called the conservation of energy was beginning to permeate physics, chemistry, and biology. But it was still very incompletely realized and still more incompletely applied. Words such as "force," "motion," and *"vis viva"* were used where we should now speak of energy. The essays on "Basic forms of motion," "The measure of motion—work," and "Heat" are largely concerned with the controversies which arose from incomplete or faulty theories about energy. They are interesting as showing how ideas on this subject developed and how Engels tackled the controversies of his day. However, many of these controversies are now settled. The expression *vis viva* is no longer used for double the kinetic energy, and "force" has acquired a definite meaning in physics. Engels would not have published them in their present form, if only because, in the later essay on tidal friction, he uses a more modern terminology. Their interest lies not so much in their detailed criticism of theories, many of which have ceased to be of importance, but in showing how Engels grappled with intellectual problems. Elsewhere there are statements which are certainly untrue, for example in the sections on stars and Protozoa. But here Engels cannot be blamed for following some of the best astronomers and zoologists of his day. The technical improvement of the telescope and microscope has of course led to great increases in our knowledge here in the last sixty years.

ATOMIC AND PROTEIN THEORIES

When all such criticisms have been made, it is astonishing how Engels anticipated the progress of science in the sixty years which have elapsed since he wrote. He certainly did not like the atomic theory of electricity, which held sway from 1900 to 1930, and until it

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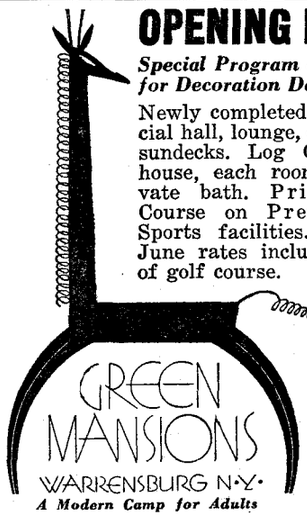

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turned out that the electron behaved not only like a particle but like a system of moving waves he might well have been thought to have "backed the wrong horse." His insistence that life is the characteristic mode of behavior of proteins appeared to be very onesided to most biochemists, since every cell contains many other complicated organic substances besides proteins. Only in the last four years has it turned out that certain pure proteins do exhibit one of the most essential features of living things, reproducing themselves in a variety of environments.

While we can everywhere study Engels' method of thinking with advantage, I believe that the sections of the book which deal with biology are the most immediately valuable to scientists today. This may of course be because as a biologist I can detect subtleties of Engels' thought which I have missed in the physical sections. It may be because biology has undergone less spectacular changes than physics in the last two generations.

A few readers may object to my pointing out that Engels was occasionally wrong. Engels would not have objected. He was well aware that he was not infallible, and that the labor movement wants no popes or inspired scriptures. *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844,* of which an English translation had been published in America in 1845, was first published in England in 1892. In his preface written after forty-eight years he says:

> I have taken great care not to strike out of the text the many prophecies, amongst others that of an imminent social revolution in England, which my youthful ardor induced me to venture upon. The wonder is, not that a good many of them proved wrong, but that so many of them have proved right.

I think that readers of *Dialectics of Nature* will come to a similar conclusion.

I have not yet mentioned the sections on the history of science. These are among the most brilliant passages in the whole book, but they represent a line of thought which was followed by Marx and Engels in many of their books and which has since been developed by others, so most readers will find them less novel. Finally, there is the delightful essay on "Scientific research into the spirit world." There is a tendency among materialists to neglect the problems here dealt with. It is worth while noticing that Engels did not do so. On the contrary he produced a number of phenomena which were regarded as "occult" and mysterious in his day, and arrived at the same conclusions as most scientific investigators in this field have reached, provided that, like Engels, they brought to their work robust common sense, and also a sense of humor.

EINSTEIN'S OPINION

It was a great misfortune, not only for Marxism, but for all branches of natural science, that Bernstein, into whose hands the manuscript came when Engels died in 1895, did not publish it. In 1924 he submitted it

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(or part of it) to Einstein, who, though he did not think it of great interest from the standpoint of modern physics, was on the whole in favor of publication. If, as seems likely, Einstein only saw the essay on electricity, his hesitation can easily be understood, since this deals almost wholly with questions which now seem remote.

Had Engels' method of thinking been more familiar, the transformations of our ideas on physics which have occurred during the last thirty years would have been smoother. Had his remarks on Darwinism been generally known, I for one would have been saved a certain amount of muddled thinking. I therefore welcome wholeheartedly the publication of an English translation [by C. P. Dutt] of *Dialectics of Nature,* and hope that future generations of scientists will find that it helps them to elasticity of thought.

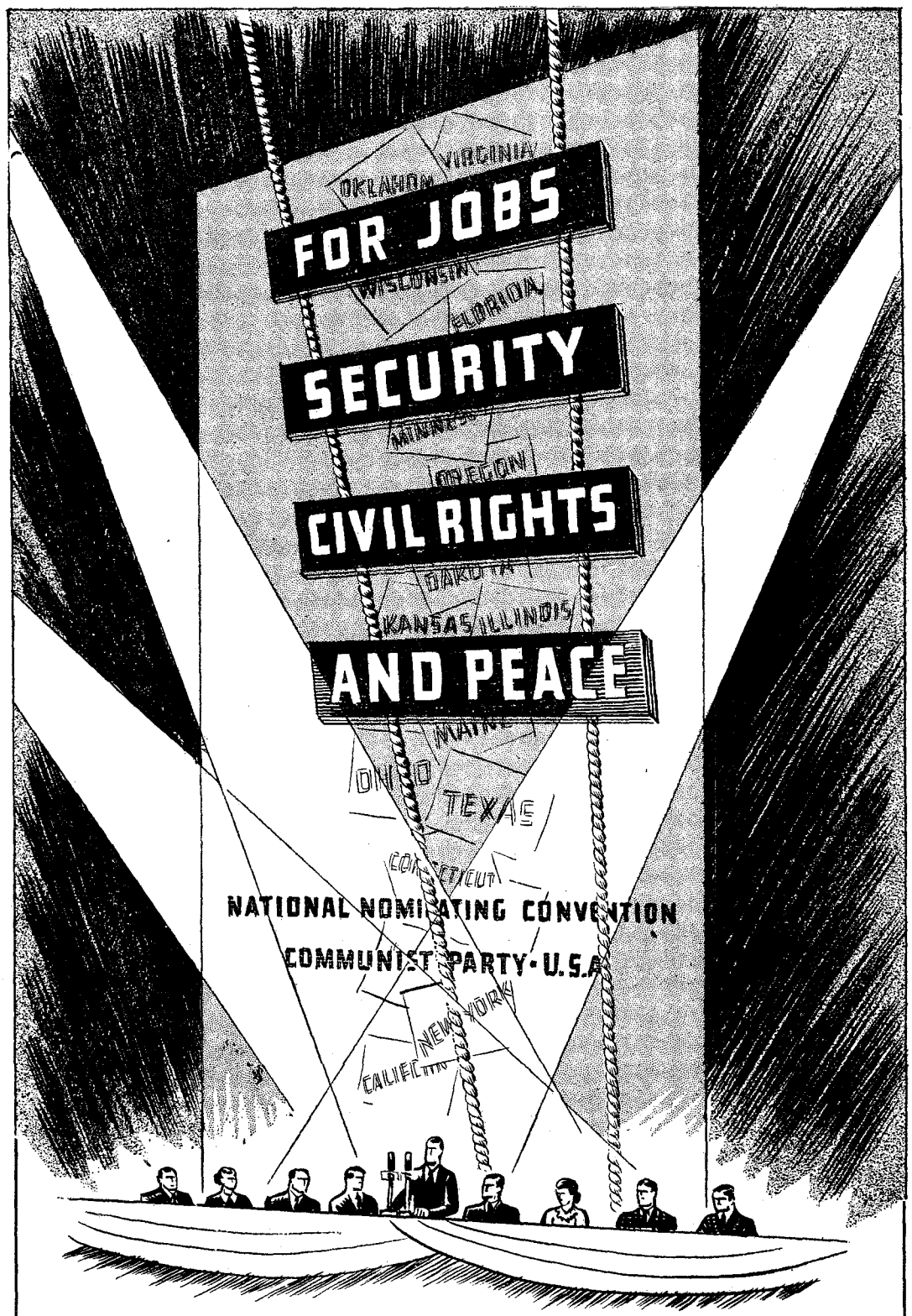
But it must not be thought that *Dialectics of Nature* is only of interest to scientists. Any educated person, and, above all, anyone who is a student of philosophy, will find much to interest him or her throughout the book.

One reason why Engels was such a great writer is that he was probably the most widely educated man of his day. Not only had he a profound knowledge of economics and history, but he knew enough to discuss the meaning of an obscure Latin phrase concerning Roman marriage law, or the processes taking place when a piece of impure zinc was dipped into sulphuric acid. And he contrived to accumulate this immense knowledge, not by leading a life of cloistered learning, but while playing an active part in politics, running a business, and even fox-hunting!

He needed this knowledge because dialectical materialism, the philosophy which, along with Marx, he founded, is not merely a philosophy of history, but a philosophy which illuminates all events whatever, from the falling of a stone to a poet's imaginings. And it lays particular emphasis on the interconnection of all processes and the artificial character of the distinctions which men have drawn, not merely between vertebrates and invertebrates or liquids and gases, but between the different fields of human knowledge such as economics, history, and natural science.

SOURCE MATERIAL

Chapter II contains an outline of this philosophy in its relation to natural science. A very careful and condensed summary of it is given in Chapter IV of the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,* but the main sources for its study are Engels' *Feuerbach* and *Anti-Duehring,* Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-criticism,* and a number of passages in the works of Marx. Just because it is a living philosophy with innumerable concrete applications, its full power and importance can only be gradually understood when we see it applied to history, science, or whatever field of study interests us. For this reason a reader whose concern lies primarily in the political or economic field will come back to his main interest a better dialectical



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materialist, and therefore a clearer-sighted politician or economist, after studying how Engels applied dialectics to nature.

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J. B. S. HALDANE.

Nazi Middletown

THE LIGHTS GO DOWN, *by Erika Mann. Farrar & Rinehart. $2.50.*

BUSY as she is, lecturing, defending the erstwhile Mannerheim Line and Mr. Churchill's "democracy," Miss Erika Mann does not seem to have much time at her disposal to spend on the books she produces. She has chosen a very exciting idea, a Nazi Middletown. But her treatment of the subject is far from exciting. Miss Mann's book is bound to disappoint those who expect from her a lively, profound study of conditions in Nazi Germany.

Miss Mann tries to sketch her picture of the Nazi Middletown in ten stories which, as she puts it, "had to be typical." Yes, the book is typical—of Miss Mann. Does Miss Mann really believe that it is typical for district supervisors of the Gestapo to help Jews? Or for Nazi editors to undergo a profound conversion, following which they quit the country? It is certainly typical of Nazi Germany that the majority of the workers are opposed to the Nazi regime; that all over the country—including Miss Mann's Middletown—small underground groups fight actively against the regime at the risk of their lives. Yet not a single one of the ten narratives by Miss Mann has a worker as its hero; nowhere is a heroic underground organizer a protagonist.

The work reveals more about Miss Mann than about the Nazi Middletown. She asserts that "the heroic actions of a small group of good Germans for the sake of an idea must not be the subject of the book, because they don't constitute the rule." This seems to indicate that she got her facts from the Nazi newspapers and not from any direct contact with German underground workers. In omitting the activities of these groups Miss Mann tips the scales of daily life inside Nazi Germany. Forgetting the opposition to Hitler of the majority of labor, she gives the impression in her gifted sketches that the German people are a mass of weaklings who either enjoy the Nazi terror, surrender to it, or do "one good deed" which absolves them in Miss Mann's eyes.

Indeed, the only strong character in Miss Mann's book is Pastor Gebhardt, an Evangelical minister, who escapes from a Nazi prison, and who, in more tranquil days, baptized Miss Mann's younger sister.

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Miss Mann thinks that the fault lies entirely with the "German character." This leads straight to the conclusions drawn by British and French imperialists: namely, that the German people love to be dictated to from above. So when the next opportunity for a new Versailles is at hand, this weakness of "the German soul," they say, will have to be taken into consideration.

Herein lies the danger of such books as this one. They do present certain unimpeachable facts, but altogether out of context. The facts, therefore, fail to represent reality. Passed over almost entirely is the economic background of Hitler's rise to power. The real story of a Nazi Middletown remains to be written. And it will take a more discerning hand than Erika Mann's.

LILLIAN GREY.

Shakespeare Note

THE ART AND LIFE OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, *by Hazelton Spencer, Harcourt, Brace & Co. $3.*

MR. SPENCER, after an overliterary opening, settles down to a very readable style. From the available evidence which he presents succinctly he gives the little that is known about Shakespeare's life, the theater of his time, and the record of each of his plays.

Mr. Spencer avoids speculation. Indeed he is belligerent in his common sense, sticking to the facts, and avoidance of far-flown deduction. As a result, his treatment is rather too narrowly set within the factual frame, and valuable correlative data, such as a study of the social scene in Shakespeare's time offers, is relatively untouched. Within this frame the presentation is terse and skillful.

I. S.

Romance in the Slave Era

CHAD HANNA, *by Walter D. Edmonds. Little, Brown & Co. $2.75.*

THE jacket of this book (a picaresque account of an orphan who had worked on the Erie Canal during the 1830's) recommends it to those who "love history and American character." This should have read, "for those who love history *of the circus* and *two dimensional* character." For *Chad Hanna's* claim to being historical lies in its reconstruction of early American circus life and manners; it intentionally avoids psychology and the social forces shaping the period, with the result that its characters are all surface.

We are told that Walter Edmonds spent three years and great pains to achieve historical accuracy. Yet when he attempts, in the manner of *Huckleberry Finn,* to portray the runaway slave of a period characterized by slave revolts, the Underground Railroad, sabotage, suicide, and other forms of Negro rebellion, he achieves a stereotype in the manner of one of Octavus Roy Cohen's moderns. It seems ironic that Mr. Edmonds, whose

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Drums along the Mohawk was vastly superior as historical fiction to that widely read book by a certain Southern lady, should find his own reasons to make romance of events attending the slave era. He introduces an abolitionist and a runaway slave for the sole purpose of involving *Chad Hanna* in the activities of the circus.

But, like the circus, *Chad Hanna* is meant to entertain; and at this it is fairly successful. We go along with the performers on their journey about New York State, sharing their adventures and *Chad Hanna's*. There is love interest, fighting, and a reconstruction of the speech and manners of the times, plus circus lore and circus history. And it is interesting, if only for its account of an early period of one of America's most beloved institutions.

RALPH ELLISON.

New York Panorama

CITY FOR CONQUEST, *by Aben Kandel. Duell, Sloan & Pearse. $2.50.*

"NEW YORK is a snake. Strike the head in Queens and the tail swings in Staten Island," says an old tramp to a young one in the first part of Aben Kandel's *City for Conquest*. Most of the characters in the book learn this truth. They are, with few exceptions, the children of immigrants, inhabitants of Forsyth Street and Yorkville, sons and daughters of factory workers, street acrobats, and peddlers. Their ambition, as voiced by the sprouting gangster, Googi, is to "make a dent in New York"—do what their parents have found impossible. To a point they succeed. Through physical prowess, crime, diligence, cunning, or talent, they become prizefighters, big shot bootleggers, real estate tycoons, playwrights, financiers. They cannot charm the snake but they can strike it, even though it often strikes back in the end.

Their story opens with the panic of 1907 and closes on the eve of the panic of 1929. It covers all New York from the Statue of Liberty to the Bronx and takes in the lives of at least ten major characters and uncounted minor ones. And yet, with all the breathless pace of incidents and impressions, the sharpness of conflict, no individual is neglected. The author, who was himself an immigrant child of the East Side, knows these people thoroughly. More than this he knows the meaning of the "snake" and its power against an ambition born of the frantic need to escape poverty forever. It is this understanding which softens with sympathy the harsh features of his characters' lives and illuminates the devious paths of their aspiration.

The publishers have performed a welcome service in republishing *City for Conquest*, which was first issued four years ago. The book is now being made into a movie. It will be interesting to see how well the camera succeeds in recording the fullness of Mr. Kandel's story, which is not only prodigal in characters but huge and detailed in panorama.

BARBARA GILES.

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"The Actors Present War"

The Theater Arts Committee's pamphlet reminds the theater workers how they were deceived into helping America into the last war.

WITH history repeating itself and the war drums beating again, we find efforts being made to mobilize the theatrical profession and line up the actors in the Big Parade. Actors being a notoriously gentle people whose hearts are generally in the right place (sometimes left), some success is being achieved along these lines. The Big Names draw the little guys and gals along behind them and performers who find it impossible to refuse any request to play a benefit for suffering people are being tricked into playing benefits for those who cause the suffering.

Hence we owe our support to TAC and the Hollywood League for Democratic Action for publishing a most timely pamphlet, *The Actors Present War,* by Richard Hood (15 cents). This is a well written and finely documented job, handsomely printed and illustrated, and if it receives the distribution it deserves in the profession, it should help to counteract the activities of those topflight theater people who are helping the current mobilization for war.

Starting with the Finnish business, the actors have been under pressure from interested parties. Hoover's Finnish Relief mulcted them of pay for extra performances, and just now we are beginning to see the dragooning of actors behind many campaigns that have one common purpose—Allied Relief balls, French and British relief, Le Paquet au Front, the Red Cross, etc. Big names on the stage are lending their support, just as they lent their support before the last great war and "entertained" the soldiers after it had started.

TAC alone in the field is fighting this tendency, and TAC has accordingly been attacked as the agent of a foreign power. Actors Equity Association has forbidden its members to attend TAC's meetings or take any part in the organization's activities. Pretty girls trying to sell *The Actors Present War* have been physically ejected from various theaters and subjected to a variety of indignities.

Hood's pamphlet documents the actors' part in mobilizing sentiment during and before the last war, traces the causes of that war and this new one, and ably argues that the theater worker has no stake in another holocaust. He says: "It is because actors, more than any other people, can move and sway great audiences; because actors can use words more ably, more magically, than any other group, that this booklet has been addressed to them. . . ." And further on, he reveals the dialectics of actor mobilization:

> The men who first approached the people of the theater in 1914-17, played their game skillfully. There was no talk of war preparations, no hint of the possibility of our entrance. . . . They began by asking aid for the women and children made homeless and hungry by the hostilities—and the actors responded by contributing their services to the Red Cross (directed by Henry C. Davison, a Morgan partner). Then, as the Allied propaganda about "The Beast of Berlin" and the alleged German atrocities in Belgium began to be circulated . . . the actors were called upon to add their vivid, dramatic, doubly effective condemnation to the chorus. This they did in their plays, in personal appearances, in vaudeville skits, which reached thousands of Americans. It was not until years after, when the war frenzy had died down . . . that the utterly false and fabricated story of the Hun bearing a Belgian babe, naked and pierced through the belly, on the point of his bayonet was exposed. . . . But by then it was too late to make amends, too late to recall to life the millions of dead. . . . For the actors, and for other professional people who had been cleverly led through the various stages to the point where they helped to send our men to France, there was nothing but remorse.

"BOY" *by Bernard Walsh is one of the exhibits for the two shows put on by the United American Artists at the Hudson Walker Gallery and the ACA Gallery in New York. The shows open May 27.*

The Actors Present War is a weapon in the hands of theater workers, a weapon against the increasing pressure that will be made to use *them* as weapons against the people. It must be sold. So contact TAC for copies.

"ROMEO AND JULIET"

If you really want to see a motion picture star's interpretation of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet,* I suppose that Laurence Olivier and Vivien Leigh will still be at the Fifty-first Street Theater when you read this—though it would not surprise me very much if they were not. For so thoroughly unredeemed a production of the great drama of the star-crossed lovers of Verona is not likely to be seen on land, sea, or in the air again for some time to come.

Mr. Olivier (who was a fair Heathcliffe in the movie version of *Wuthering Heights*) has done *Romeo and Juliet* up brown. He presents the show, he directed it, he designed it, he stars in it, he even wrote some music for it. Miss Leigh of *Gone with the Wind* is his Juliet, both in public and in private life. Together they perform (it cannot be called acting) against monstrous motion picture sets, which revolve before your very eyes (and make you exceeding dizzy), and they tear the sweet swan of Avon into many uninteresting shreds.

If you can sit through the twenty-one scenes, you will discover an amazing, an utterly astounding fact—that nowhere in this gigantic montage of the play is the fine Elizabethan hand of William Shakespeare evident. (Maybe he was at Sardi's for a beer.)

Mr. Olivier, as the scion of the House of Montague, mouths his lines, points at the scenery, gulps the poetry, spits it out on the apron and into Miss Leigh's shell-pink ears—but the audience does not hear him; which is, perhaps, just as well. It is hard to know just what he thinks he is doing. Miss Leigh is very pretty, offers a studied high school recitative Juliet, walks in beauty like the night in gowns by Eaves Costume Co. Between the two of them, and with the able assistance of an enormous cast of star-crossed "actors," Shakespeare is hanged, drawn, and quartered. A plague on all their houses.

PATRIOTIC SPECTACLE

If you attend the colossal glorification of the genius of the American Advertising Agencies which is called the 1940 World's Fair, I do not think you will need to see *American Jubilee,* which is presented three times daily

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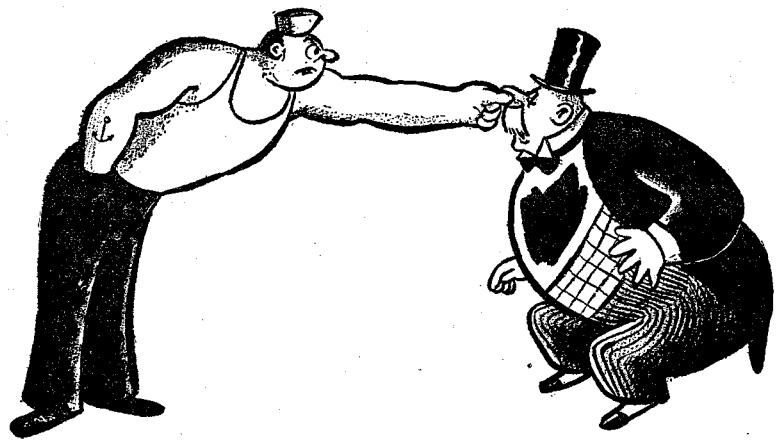

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as a tribute to the enterprise of the Studebaker Corp. It's cheap enough, but the Cyclone Coaster is cheaper.

Against great flats painted to resemble Federal Hall (1789), the Barnum Museum (1860), Ford's Theater (1865), Rectors (1900), six thousand chorus girls and boys disport themselves on the hoof, on horses, on bicycles, in ancient automobiles. Paul Haakon (grown older and heavier) assays entrechats (six) and the cakewalk; Joe Jackson (good) fights his broken-down bicycle. The Lime Trio (one good contortionist) twists its limbs, and a few outstanding historical facts are presented for your wistful consideration. G. Washington is inaugurated (in a coach in which he actually rode) and the six thousand kick in tights. A. Lincoln speaks the Gettysburg piece and rides in the original coach to Ford's Theater to be rubbed out by J. W. Booth, and the six thousand waltz in lovely hoopskirts. (Both coaches are by courtesy of the Studebaker Corp.)

"RETURN OF THE VAGABOND"

Twenty years ago the star-spangled George M. Cohan appeared in a thing called *The Tavern*. When the audience howled, although it was intended as a serious piece, it was thereafter presented as farce satire. Now, his eyes turned backward, Mr. Cohan has himself written a sequel to that fustian play, called it *The Return of the Vagabond* (National Theater). The audience will not howl.

Of more interest than the slipshod and redundant events that take place in the stormbound tavern is Mr. Cohan himself. Author of *Over There* (for which he has just received a timely medal from Congress), arch-reactionary of the theatrical profession, the old boy minces and capers, touches his nose, smiles and simpers, says, "Ah-ha-ha," over and over and delivers himself of ringing platitudes. He is a bore, but I suppose to an earlier generation of playgoers he was a broth of a boy.

But it is difficult to like an author-actor-producer who not only has written a bad play and is himself a ham actor, but places on the stage a terribly deformed human being and then proceeds to poke fun at him.

ALVAH BESSIE.

"The Baker's Wife"

James Dugan reviews the French film by Marcel Pagnol.

AFTER it has run twelve weeks at the World in New York I have hastened to see *The Baker's Wife*, a French film by Marcel Pagnol, who made *Harvest*. The story of the new film is also by Jean Giono and the theme is an enlargement of the idea of *Harvest*. The wheat so ritually nurtured and gathered is now bread—a great round French loaf from the oven of a stolid village *boulanger*. The middle-aged baker's handsome young wife runs off with a shepherd and the grief-stricken cuckold can bake no more bread. The

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village accepts responsibility for this catastrophe and a posse is raised to recapture the erring wife. The marquis, the priest, and the mayor, assume charge of the woman hunt and effect the capture. Better loaves will come from the baker.

RAIMU

The singular actor, Raimu, playing the baker, displays a mature acting intelligence. Character players of his physical makeup are too usually Wallace Beerys or Harry Baurs but Raimu is an imaginative and controlled artist. His drunk scene over the Pernod in the village cafe is a fine thing of its kind. He is not only drunk but frantic, almost deranged, eating himself, and his actions have a wonderful *non sequitur*. He screams bits of Italian opera, delivers a flowery and ironic speech of praise to the fat marquis, and collapses into wild sobbing at the thought of his missing wife.

Raimu conveys the panic of this little man without destroying the basic character of the substantial petty bourgeois baker. The village types are droll and solid, with a biting characterization of a pedantic young priest. This marked accent of anti-clericalism is a measure of the depth of the realism in the pre-war French film.

It looks as if it had been made in a village. With the exception of Pagnol's polite kowtowing to the rotten French upper classes in his treatment of the marquis, *The Baker's Wife* is true and very moving, as solid a little genre piece as France has produced.

"TORRID ZONE"

Warner Bros. offers a typical piece of nonchalant sneering at Latin America in *Torrid Zone,* a post-Hays office number with Ann Sheridan, Jimmy Cagney, and Pat O'Brien. I say post-Hays office and cite this line to indicate how much the bars are down in wartime Hollywood. Andy Devine meets Sheridan at a banana plantation in the interior of a certain Central American country. "Will you sew some buttons on for me?" says Andy, leering at the *zaftig* Annie. "On your *shirt,* I suppose?" cracks Annie, giving leer for leer.

Cagney and O'Brien, or Sergeant Quirt and Captain Flagg, are operating the banana business on land stolen from the natives. A native revolutionary band is trying to drive them out but Mr. Cagney kicks the native workers around as though he were a straw boss in Republic Steel. "I give the orders around here!" he declares when a couple of natives ("treacherous," of course) demur at the idea of fighting the revolutionaries.

The revolutionaries, represented as a scummy little band, are led by a musical comedy bad man, who combines sadism with naivete. Everything in the film is standard, prefabricated Hollywood bilge. Sheridan plays Jean Harlow, George Tobias plays Holbrook Blinn, and Cagney and O'Brien have been playing themselves long enough to know better. *Torrid Zone* will clean up at the box office, but not in Central America.

JAMES DUGAN.

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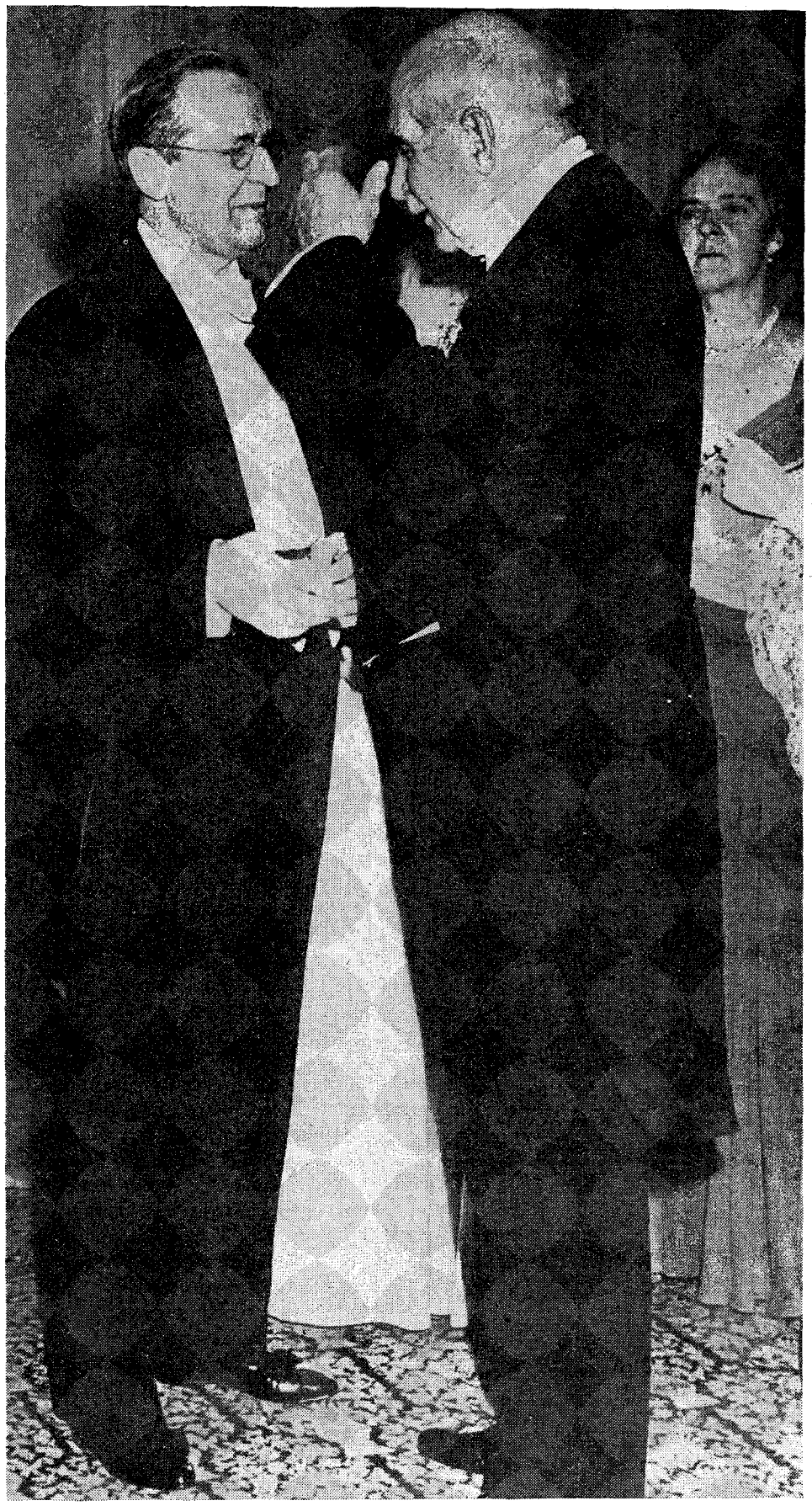

TAKE a good look at it. You recognize them, don't you? On the right is J. P. Morgan. On the left, the marquess of Lothian, British ambassador, one of the most dangerous men in this country. This photo appeared in the war-mad New York *Post*, May 15. Its caption read:

Two sturdy advocates of the Allied cause, the Marquess of Lothian, British ambassador to the United States, and J. P. Morgan chat at the dinner of the English-Speaking Union of the United States at the Waldorf-Astoria.

Two sturdy advocates—of Death. Two sturdy advocates of our country's entrance into this war. Two sturdy advocates—giving you a one-way ticket to hell. Here they are—as in 1917, and the criminal press of our time is working with them, and for them. Nowhere, apart from NEW MASSES, is there a weekly publication giving you the lowdown on these two men, the forces they represent. Every week NM gives the plans of Lord Lothian, dissected, laid bare. Every week, NM exposes J. P. Morgan—and everything he represents.

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